1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

574 Aimeri, nemejiŋg eng-aji oo-'l-Kishumu, amu mme en-o-'l-poror lenye.

Kake eikilikwan, ajo: 'Kodee 'ng-ajijik oo-'l-Aimer!' Ore p' eitadnai, nejiŋg eng-aji nabo.

Ore pe ejiŋg, neinyŏŏto lido-openy eng-aji, nelo aiŋguru 'n-giragat ti-as-wŏji, neton ol-omoni aboitare e-ŋgorŏyŏni.

[837]

Araki ten esta ol-openy eng-aji 'ŋgorŏyok kumok, nelo airagye, neiŋgweki ol-omoni inna-aji natijiŋga meirага.

Meidim ol-tuŋgani loo-'l-Maasae stŏmitiki ol-omoni en-giragata, amu ŏure, ten edek ol-poror lenye, nĕĕ.

instance, to the Aimer age, he must not enter the hut of one of the Kishumu age, as he does not belong to this age.

He will ask where the huts of the members of the Aimer age are, and when he has been shown them, he will enter one.

When he has entered, the owner of the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in elsewhere, the stranger remaining with his wife[1].

Or if the owner of the hut has several wives, he goes to sleep with one of these, leaving the stranger in the hut he entered.

A Masai cannot refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other members of his age will curse him, and he will die.

●233 181 'N-giabu[2], oo 'n-gujit, oo kulla. Cattle, grass, and milk.

Enyor il-Maasae 'n-giabu naleŋg; meitĕnyanyukye 'n-giabu ae-tĕki[3]. Eata 'n-giabu

[552] pŏkin ing-aru enye anaa 'l-tuŋganak.

Etii o-rureŋ lenye ajo:

'Eriyuve en-gitaŋg nabo ol-

[556] lughunya o-'l-lae.'

Ejo, ten e-tum ol-lae en-

The Masai love their cattle very much, and consider that nothing in the world is of equal value. As with people, each cow is known by name.

There is a saying which is as follows:

'One cow resembles a man's head.'

They mean by this that if a man

[1] Vide note a, p. 312.

[2] The Masai cattle are of the humped Zebu type.

[3] Schweinfurth (*The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 174) writes with regard to the Dinka and other Nilotic tribes: 'The poor savages . . . pay almost a divine homage to their cattle which they hold dearer than wife or child.' Kaufmann (*Schilderungen*, p. 101) adds that on the death of a cow a Dinka goes into mourning as he would if a relation had died.

[136] [113] [171]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

gitudg nabo, pe ormunt, nenku kumuk, neitipuk ol-loo, amu oiyunishoro, nelo 'a-guro, nenku ol-kerrio te-inno-kitudg.

Ore en-daa oo-'a-gishu naa 'a-gujit: nanyor il-Maasai 'a-gujit, amu ninjo en-daa oo-'a-gishu.

Ore tshili ten oney ang-ai nabo, nanyoo 'Ngurtyuk nainiki 'a-gujit il-k'lluni pe etum nainoi ang-ai.

Naa, ten ker ol-murrani ol-eyioi te-shoo, nedgoro ol-eyioi 'a-gujit nanjo, naa ten shid ol-murrani 'a-gujit olashgita ol-eyioi, nemoitiki nor.

Ore ai ten tarore 'l-Maasai 'l-nadgoti, p' eiyio naitayu e-sitwa, naitayu 'a-gujit ilashaya.

Naa, ten orinyunyo 'l-murran te-'a-joro, pe ogilaki 'l-outoriishita, naisiiii, olashgita en-dito-ang-ai e-kulio napukuruse 'a-gujit nanyuni.

Naa, ten aiduri, nainiktai 'nainain in-gujit.

Naa, ten nanyuki ol-tashgani 'a-gujit, nanoirok e-naiyuta, nij: 'Ol-tarthitai ilio, nanyilo 'a-gishu.'

Naa, ten alo ol-tashgani wuji, pe shid ol-shani ilturukitue ang-

has a cow, which he looks after and tends, it bears, and by so doing enables him to live, for he can marry, and have children, and thus becomes rich. 233 181 [554]

Now cattle feed on grass, and the Masai love grass on this account. [824]

824

Whenever there is a drought, the women fasten grass on to their clothes, and go and offer up prayers to God. [789]

If a warrior beats a boy on the grazing ground, the boy tears up some grass, and when the warrior sees that the child has grass in his hand, he stops beating him.

Again, if the Masai fight with an enemy, and wish to make peace, they hold out some grass as a sign. [828]

Whenever warriors return from a raid, and it is desired to praise those who have killed some of the enemy, a girl takes a small gourd of milk, and having covered it with green grass, sprinkles it over them. [703]

Then, if people move from one kraal to another, they tie grass on to the guards.

Should one man ask forgiveness of another with grass in his hand and his request be not attended to, it is said that the man who refuses to listen to his prayer is a Dorobo, and that he does not know about cattle. [827] [116]

Again, if a man who is proceeding on a journey sees a tree which has [484]

934 [784] olosi, nedgere 'e-gejik enedgeki, ares tje nesrem enitiki nolo ollgere.

The Masai love grass very much, for they say: 'God gave us cattle and grass, we do not separate the things which God has given us.'

Enyor il-Masaae 'e-gejik naisig, ares tje: 'Eldoirwa ope eng-ai 'e-gisho ee 'e-gejik, nikiio ia-dikiito naishoo 'yook eng-ai.'

934 [783] Ore 'ng-ishigi pikin ten aisy i-figuriyuk in-gishe, nelion kulie in-'in-kukuri, nelinghore, ares tje: 'Enyor eng-ai.'

Whenever Masai women milk their cows, they take some milk from the ground and pour it away, for they say: 'God likes this.'

933 [782] Il-naishiren en 'i-penot.

The brand-marks and ear-cutting of cattle, sheep, and donkeys.

Medgor il-Masaae 'i-naishiren.

The brand-marks which the Masai use for their cattle are not alike.

[114] Enie ae-kishitini el-naishiren lenyo kitok le-'e-gishitini pikin.

For each clan and family there is one principal mark, and all the cattle belonging to the various members of a family are branded in a special way.

Kolitiki aata 'i-gilat ti-ares, ekyitikuai en-gishidig injore en-e-'e-gishitini enjo, kake en-e-figuria.

There are also small marks by which the actual owner can be recognized.

E-ata el 'i-penot; aatii en-gishitini ormonie el-penotie lenyo.

Besides branding, each family has a special method of slitting the ears of their cattle, sheep, and donkeys.

Kolitiki aare ti-ares.

They likewise have smaller marks for each individual owner.

Tau ekiii en-gishidig naiyetitoni 'ajore en-ee-'i-kinet enare-kitodig, kake en-e-figuyio.

If therefore a cow is seen, it can be recognized as belonging to the *Kinet* clan, for instance, and also to such and such a person.

En-aikare.

Enyor naishy il-Maasai en-aikare, ana ton emany e-wiji nemetii 'e-gujik, naishor ngwen ne-wiji nemii 'e-gujik.

Ton aikar, naiyeti i-aikare nagik il-nelio na'l-dirata, nagik i-nailasin aiwa 'l-dirata, nemay i-kgoritjuk il-lomia.

Ana, ton emany e-wiji nemetii 'e-gujik, nemenkata 'ng-ejijik, emany il-kgakuri. Ore 'l-kgakuri nee 'ng-ejijik na'l-nelio. Ore ton ngwen e-wiji nemii 'e-gujik kumok, nenkata 'ng-ejijik.

Ana 'kgoritjuk nenkata. E'yaa 'l-kuna, nitumikii en-gop, nelio ton'ng-ejijik, nagik il-kujik. Ore ji nidip, nemay ton'nitilisik na'e-gidim, e ol-kiteleligai tukulare 'nitilisik.

The process of moving.

The Masai are fond of moving, and if they happen to be staying in a place where the grazing is poor, they move to another spot.

When they move, they saddle their donkeys with skins and pack-saddles in which they put their utensils, and the women carry bags.

Should they stop in a place where the grass is not good, they do not build proper huts, but they live in the so-called il-kgakuri, i.e. in huts made of skins. When they go to a good grazing ground, they build huts.

The women do the work of building. They procure poles, and put one end in holes, which they dig in the ground; they then bind the poles together with cord made from trees; after which they cover the framework with long grass. When they have finished this, they plaster the whole of the outside with cow-dung and mud.

'Manyat en 'l-puli ton 'l-murran ton 'l-Maasai.

Emany il-murran na'l-Maasai ing-ekgitie, kake emany i-manyat elukiare nedipisuye en 'merjoo.

Ore ton ngwen e-wuare aiwa 'e-gisi, nemuny il-puli elukiare 'ningwa keye.

Masai warriors' kraals and slaughter-houses.

Masai warriors do not live in the kraals of the married people; they have their own kraals, where they dwell with their mothers and lovers.

When they go to the woods to eat meat, they live in the slaughter-houses* with their boy-servants.

* Meat may not be eaten in the manyat, or warriors' kraals, and spoil places, called il-puli, are erected in the woods, to which the warriors retire when they slaughter cattle.

1: Hollis C-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Enyoo ali 'e-gwa 'l-Kgunda-pik mishig, ekwe ali 'l-ntilgumak kitook, kake nana mishig.

Kwaakwe l-Masai kulyo-ikikia ega, ekwe nata 'e-gilaka, kake ekwatia tasia 'e-dalili pikia en'l-mash, nana 'l-gash, e el-nishilili, en 'l-mutiko, en 'e-gulya-dalili e'e-gop, nare nasia 'e-gilaka kwaak nana ega.

Pilli en-dilli nanakwe, e-nairwa aka. Kwaakwe l-mitiegi, en 'ningis', en 'e-giri en'l-dudigis.

Children are very fond of various kinds of fruit, which are also eaten by the old people, but the latter do not care for them very much. 262

Formerly the Masai, when they had plenty of cattle, ate no other kind of food, but nowadays they often have to eat savages' food, such as asses, rats, lizards, and snails, for they no longer own the vast herds which they formerly possessed[1]. [198]

They, however, do not eat everything. They eat neither birds, nor fish, nor the flesh of wild animals.

D-dudigis.

Enyoo 'l-Masaa 'l-dudigis ega ekwa nata 'e-gilaka pikia; kake ekwe kwilkwe ekwa tasia 'l-dudigis nana 'l-Dorobo, nare ekwatasia 'e-gilaka.

Too tae l-enyuk l-ekwan, naa 'l-ala aka ekwasi, nayewa nasia nalonyokki 'e-gilaka.

Kwa, too turi 'l-nalikwani, naa el-dalili ekwasi, ji' ekwaya 'l-nawua l-kidigis, nalonyi ali 'nalwanak, ji' ekwi 'e-gilakigita nalidakgyaki 'nankwa. Kwakwe ali 'l-alkwanak le-gilakigita nanpika 'nalia le-'e-alkwa.

Wild animals.

The Masai ate the flesh of no wild animals when in olden days they all had cattle; but some of those who have lost all their cattle are now beginning to eat rennets, like the Dorobo. [198]

If Masai boys kill elephants, they only take the trunks, which they exchange for cattle.

When buffaloes are killed, the hide and the horns are kept. From the former the warriors make their shields, and from the latter mortars are cut in which medicines are ground. The medicine-men also use the horns to put stones in for their prophecies. 239 [214] [215] [187]

[1] It was recently estimated that the Masai in the Kaironko Province own [233] [164]
[2] The northern Masai sometimes use e-ningis (pl. i-ningis) for a fish. The southern invariably use e-ningisi (pl. i-ningis).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

torono. Il-kunčno ooiyuma oopeny.

Ten eibuñg ol-Masaani enděki naibuñga duo ol-kunčni, anaa en-ţero, anaa ol-alem, nepik e-ilata eng-aina, amu ţjo torono ten eibuñg te-'ng-aina ake.

Mesta sii 'l-kunčno 'n-gishu kumok anaa 'l-kulikae-Masaae; meinoaare 'n-gishu. Tin idol ol-kunčni čata 'n-gishu artam, naa kumok naleñg.

Eata 'l-kunčno o-rorsi lenye ol-loo-'l-Masaae, kake eitawal; lemeniñg il-Masaae. Mme pôkin oosta, e-matwa ake naata.

is not considered correct. The smiths marry amongst themselves. 324 564

If a Masai takes in his hand a spear or sword or other thing which a smith has held, he first of all oils his hand for it is considered improper for him to take it in his bare hand. [516]

The smiths are not rich in cattle like other Masai. They have no luck with cattle. If you find one possessing forty head, it is a very large number. [233]

The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them who know it. [198]

'Mŏtio oo 'l-pukurto.

Eidim i-ñgorţyok oo-'l-Masaae kulye ñitobirs 'mŏtio; nemeidim kulye, neinyañgu ake too-'l-meek.

Einyañgu sii 'l-pukurto, araki etum too-'miñgan.

Eidim aatimir en-gine ñinoeye e-mŏti nabo.

Ore ten eitobir il-Masaae 'mŏtio, neitobir in-gituak oo 'n-gutiti, nepik pôkin in-gumashi p' eibuñgye ten edotu.

Ten epwo 'l-muran aayeñg-iabo, nepik en-gine pe etum ñibuñga.

Earthenware pots and gourds.

Some Masai women are able to make earthenware pots; others who are unable to make them buy them from savages. 323 [939]

Gourds are also bought, or they are collected in the deserted kraals. [915]

One pot can be purchased for a goat. [935]

When the Masai make pots they make them in two sizes, big and small; these pots are also provided with handles[1] by which they can be picked up.

When warriors go to the woods to slaughter cattle, they carry their cooking-pots by a strip of hide fastened to the handles[2]. [982] [231]

[1] Lit. nostrils. [2] For illustrations see Hinde, *The Last of the Masai*, p. 89.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

On the whole, those two authorities stress the linguistic unity of all the Masai.

The great majority of the Masai are pastoral, only very few tribes having taken to agriculture. The pastoral tribes follow a semi-nomadic way of life. "They move", writes Lord HAILEY,[1] "with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that in effect they practise a system of rotational grazing". The same writer,[2] reports "a recent estimate" of Masai herds in Kenya which puts "the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys". For Tanganyika he gives no figure. The above estimates show clearly enough how the attitude of the Masai to cattle is a paramount feature of their life. To own cattle is a privilege obtained through initiation, and large herds are a sign of outstanding social status. Cattle are the main economic interest and investment for the Masai.[3]

The total population of all the Masai may be reckoned at about 122,792. The 1948 census of Kenya's population (*see* Bibl.) gives for the Samburu an estimate of 20,000, and the following figures: Njemps 3,423, the other Masai 67,201. In 1931 the Tanganyika Masai were reckoned as 32, 168.

* * *

Under the present political situation, the Masai are not administered as a single unit, for they are divided into two sections by the border of Tanganyika Territory and Kenya Colony.

In Tanganyika the Masai form one of the four districts of the Territory's Northern Province (the Masai District). In Kenya the main group inhabits the reserve adjoining Tanganyika Masai District, and constitutes the Extra Provincial District (Masai District) of the Colony. The other group (Samburu and Njemusi) is incorporated with the Rift Valley Province (Samburu and Baringo District), and partly with the Northern Frontier Province. The geographical separation of the Samburu from the other Masai is the reason why the Samburu were considered, and are still considered, as a non-Masai tribe. But, as BRYAN remarks, they are true Masai. The splitting of Massailand and the separation of the Masai were made

[1] HAILEY, *Native Administration in the British African Territories, Part I.* London 1950, p. 86.

[2] *L. c.*, p. 187.

[3] In this connection see the article of L. JAMES, in *Africa*, 13, pp. 49 ff.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

permanent by the present administrative arrangement, but were not established by it. The land which divides the Samburu in the north from the Kapiti in the south of Kenya, was once the home of the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu Masai. In those days, Masailand was a continuous strip of land stretching over the plains south of Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru up to the shores of Lake Rudolph. At the end of 19th century a great cattle plague and, even more, civil wars (the Kapiti versus the Laikipiak and Uasin Gishu) wrought havoc among the latter, who were almost destroyed. The few remnants have been absorbed by other Masai tribes, especially the Kapiti and the Kisongo. The Laikipiak plains west of Nanyuki which in 1904 had first been set aside as a special reserve (the Northern Masai reserve), were subsequently declared open to European settlement, and by 1911 Agreement the Southern Masai Reserve was enlarged into what is now the Extra Provincial District of the Masai in Kenya Colony.[*]

* * *

A comparative analysis of the literature shows the existence of three graded territorial units, the major and the minor territorial sections, and the village. A character common to the first two sections is the absence of a clear limit or boundary. The sections are spoken of in terms of watering and grazing rights. The nomadic aspect of Masai life is chiefly responsible for this territorial vagueness. The absence of any centralized authority to check people and cattle's transhumance is another important cause of the vagueness of Masai territorial organization.

The major territorial section is made up by the area in which the movements of a full tribe usually take place. The existence of

[*] SANDFORD, *An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve*, London 1919, Appendix; *E. L. C. E.*, p. 188. One may note that the Uasin Gishu and the Laikipiak, together with the Siria and the Lumbwa were despised as inferior, for they were not considered as "pure Masai" by the other tribes who regarded themselves as descendants of Maasinda. See FOSBROOKE, p. 7. This ill-feeling may explain in part, the fury with which the Kapiti fought against the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu.

In December 1950, I visited the Ndigiri Dorobo at Dol Dol on the Mukogodo Hills, some 60 miles north west of Nanyuki. They claim to have been dependent on the Laikipiak Masai, and they survived the slaughter chiefly by their seclusion in the forests. Their present outlook seems to be entirely Masai. The names of their age-classes are consistent with those of the Masai.

An important factor in the tribal system of the Masai is the presence of medicine-men whose duties are in general connected with the divination of future events, with the administration of drugs, and with the practice of witchcraft. There appear to be three grades of medicine-men, whose spheres of influence are divided into these three categories, but, for practical purposes, it is only necessary to consider the position of the first grade, represented by the person of the Laibon, or "Ol-oiboni," who is the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe. The history of the Laibons is recorded in Mr. Hollis' book on the Masai, pp. 324-330, and it is unnecessary to enter into it here, but it may be mentioned that Mbatian, who died about 1866, and Lenana, his son and successor, acquired such great influence over all sections of the Masai that the position of Laibon came to be regarded by certain of the European officers who had not carefully investigated the facts of the case, as synonymous with that of a paramount chief. It does not appear, however, that the Laibons have ever attempted to assume a position resembling that of kings of native tribes, and the appointment by Government of Lenana, and, at his death, of his son Seggi, to the office of Paramount Chief of the Masai was, in fact, the result of a misunderstanding of the actual state of affairs which steps have now been taken to rectify.

The reverse displayed by the pastoral Masai "Morans" in raids on surrounding tribes combined with their ceaseless activity in following their parents made their name dreaded throughout East Africa and hindered for many years the passage of caravans by the direct route from Uganda to the Coast. When eventually Europeans penetrated the highlands of British East Africa, they found the Masai with their flocks and herds scattered over a wide area. The story of how they were eventually concentrated in one reserve is told in Chapter III., but it is necessary to draw attention here to the effect which this concentration, combined with the introduction of veterinary skill and the cessation of raiding by and against them, had on the Masai. In 1904, before any administrative limit had been placed on the movements of the tribe, it was estimated that the Masai possessed 50,000 head of cattle. In 1911, 80,000 head were said to be in the Northern Reserve alone, and this estimate was subsequently increased to 200,000 when the cattle which were attempting to move south had been more thoroughly examined. 50,000 head of cattle moved south in 1911, but in the final move from Laikipia in 1912 and 1913, nearly 200,000 head were counted. By March 1914 all the Masai herds being located in one reserve, the total estimate for the tribe had leaped up to 400,000 and the number of cattle in the possession of the Masai is now supposed to be in the neighbourhood of three-quarters of a million. These latter figures are the estimates of Mr. E. W. Hemsted, who has been the Officer-in-Charge of the Masai Reserve for more than five years, and, in spite of the objection taken by the Masai on superstitious grounds to the counting of their stock, they must be taken to be substantially accurate. It is scarcely reasonable to suppose that the earlier figures, particularly the first two mentioned, are in any way to exact, but, after allowances have been made for this, it is obvious that an enormous increase in stock has taken place. In addition to this cattle, the Masai are said to possess something over two million sheep and ten thousand donkeys. The stock-carrying capacity of the 14,000 square miles included within the borders of the Masai Reserve, is limited to a certain extent by the evasion shown by the natives to grazing cattle in areas which from past experience they believe to be infected by disease, and, in parts of the Reserve, land which appears to be admirably suited for stock remains unoccupied on that account, no attempt having been made to utilise veterinary skill and treatment in rendering their cattle immune from the disease. With the exception of these areas, the Reserve may fairly be said to be stocked to its fullest capacity, and the Masai, who number all told about 45,000 souls, possess capital to an average amount of rather more than £10 per head. They are then, in all probability, the richest uncivilised tribe in the world. It is not surprising, therefore, considering their conception of manual labour as degrading, the limitations of their personal requirements and their [illegible] in livestock, to find that they are unwilling to work for wages as do the members of other tribes. Their principal diet is meat and milk, both of which they have in plenty, and they can procure any other food or commodity they desire by sale or barter of stock.

[illegible]

Employment of the "Morans"

More particularly does this argument apply to the "Morans" who are of the ages at which the members of agricultural tribes are expected to work. No suitable employment has as yet been found for them as a body, though a small number have been known to reside as herds on the farms of sympathetic European stock-owners who are willing to pay a high wage for a maximum of service and who will not insist on their performance of any unorganised labour. A very few also have proved efficient in the Police Force and K.A.R., while members of them, employed in the capacity of native levies have frequently proved of assistance in punitive expeditions against other tribes,* but for the majority, all attempts to find a suitable form of employment have failed, and they continue to lead their idle life in the Reserve, where their attitude is one of conceited conservatism combined with opulent apathy. The discipline formerly necessary to their existence as a fighting race is rapidly falling into disuse, and the good qualities they once possessed are fast deteriorating. Many of them have condemned to a feeling of boredom with their idle life but few have had the moral courage to change it for one of labour. This manner of existence is having a disastrous effect both physically and mentally on the Masai as a tribe, and it is stated that the average height of the "Moran" has decreased by three or four inches during the last fifteen years.

Masai overstocking cattle

It has been said that the Masai Reserve is already, with certain reservations, stocked to its fullest capacity. Mr. Hemsted has estimated the natural increase in cattle at 15 per cent, or approximately 100,000 per head per annum. It follows therefore, that a similar number must be disposed of or perish annually; but this is an argument which does not appeal to the Masai. They have not only shown a marked reluctance to sell their stock, but they have made no serious attempts to accept the assistance of science in improving the grazing conditions of their country, and, being satisfied as a result of the few experiments they have made that the class of stock they possess—a small, degenerate, in-bred animal—is best suited to withstand the arduous conditions prevailing in the Reserve, they are unwilling to permit a cross-breeding with pure-bred or grade stock which might materially increase the value of their herds in the world's markets, and which would, by the introduction of fresh blood, obviate the ill-effects of in-breeding which has been rendered necessary by the cessation of raids. The wealth of the Masai, therefore, is turned to no good purpose; their style of living does not change; they are still content to live in low buildings constructed of poles, grass and mud, in conditions of filth that defy description; and, although an improvement has been noticeable in recent years, they have shown no great desire to utilize their wealth in the purchase of imported articles and in the improvement of their diet.

Councils of Elders

Another aspect of the character of the Masai "Morans" which deserves consideration is the disregard which they evince for the authority of their own native administration as represented by the Councils of Elders. These Councils exist according to native custom, but have never been in the past, nor are they now, efficient to enforce the decisions they may give in respect of the young warriors. It may be said that serious crime in the Masai Reserve is rare, and that there are not more than three or four cases on record, since European administration was established, when the attitude of the "Morans" gave cause for anxiety and in no one of these cases did a disturbance of such magnitude occur as to render necessary a measure to appeal force to quell it. Politically, the Masai have remained loyal to the British Government since they first encountered it, and except for isolated instances where certain sections attempted to help the allied cause and to increase their herds by the despatch of raiding expeditions against German territory, their conduct throughout the trying period when the war in East Africa was on their borders was exemplary. Nevertheless, a catalogue of the misdeeds of the Masai will show a not inconsiderable number of instances

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* The Masai have rendered assistance in the capacity of native levies on the following occasions:—
(1) [illegible]
(2) [illegible]
(3) [illegible]
(4) [illegible]
(5) [illegible]
(6) [illegible]
(7) [illegible]
(8) [illegible]
(9) [illegible]
(10) [illegible]
(11) [illegible]
(12) [illegible]
(13) [illegible]
(14) [illegible]
(15) [illegible]
(16) [illegible]
(17) [illegible]
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one or two streams which are permanent and which run for some distance from the foot of the hill. The most important are the Namanga and Kidongai, but several other springs are to be found on the mountain itself. The upper portions of Mount Ossk, as well as the northern slopes are covered with good grass, suitable for grazing during the wet season, but the Masai usually proceed to the more permanent watering places in the dry seasons.

Following the line of the Longido-Kajiado road northwards, more broken country is encountered, with the Ngurigishi and Ol Kasparasha Hills on the right forming the western boundaries of the Nyiri plains. This part of the reserve is bare and barren with little grass, and water can only be obtained by digging. The road lies generally at an altitude of between 4,000 and 5,000 feet, and the first permanent water that is to be found is at Basil. There are some perennial springs on the slopes of the Kasesparasha and Ngurigishi Hills. North of Basil the country is covered with grass, and forms excellent grazing grounds comparatively free from trees. To the east lies the broken country of the Barsaga Hills, which contains numerous water-holes, some of them permanent, but no permanent rivers. The line of the Magadi Railway is then reached, north of which lie the Kapatiei Plains, stretching north-eastwards into the Ukamba country. These plains are at an altitude of about 5,300 feet, and are covered with grass, though the ground is somewhat stony.

To the west the ground rises fairly uniformly to the Ngong Hills, Doinyo Lamuyu, and En Doinyo Nanuk. West of these heights lies the escarpment of lava rock, running north and south, which forms the eastern wall of the Rift Valley, and which is more or less clearly defined from the northern boundary of the Masai Reserve at the Kikuyu Escarpment in a south and south-easterly direction to En Doinyo Nanuk and the Turoka Ravine, thence south-westerly past Lemuji, to the Anglo-German boundary near Boundary Post 21.

East of this escarpment the country is at a much lower level, is barren, rocky and destitute of water. A few isolated hills rise up, but it presents the appearance of a rugged desert and is practically uninhabited. Descending from the escarpment, at a mean altitude of 6,000 feet, the general altitude at the foot is little more than 4,000 while in the neighbourhood of Lake Magadi the country falls to 2,022 feet. To the south of the Lake stands Ol Keteroj, a mass of three or four peaks, of which the highest attains an elevation of 4,561 feet, and to the north there is a series of knolls and ridges. Near Lake Magadi, and extending eastwards and northwards for some miles, there are the deposits of an old lake. These are associated with volcanic debris and have in places been overflowed by lava.

Northwards, and some fifteen miles west of the Ngong Hills, the country consists of a series of parallel valleys divided by rocky fault scarps, details of the enormous fault movement so definitely marked in the Rift Valley.

West of Lake Magadi the Rift Valley maintains its low altitude, broken only by Udongoria, a hill which flanks the Uaso Nyiro on the east at a height of 3,000 feet, but at the northern extremity of Lake Natron, a few miles north of the boundary, Ol Shombole rises an isolated peak to an altitude of 5,150 feet, 2,000 feet above the swamps of the Uaso Nyiro at its immediate foot.

The country to the east of the Uaso Nyiro, and lying in the Rift Valley, is undoubtedly the poorest portion of the reserve from a pastoral point of view. East of the Nairobi-Longido road, and in the Ingito Hills, the country may be described as fair stock land, and though water is not plentiful, and though there are in general considerable distances to be crossed between water-holes, a considerable quantity of stock can be maintained on it by utilising the *drier* areas during the wet season. Statistics show that this area does in fact support about 170,000 head of cattle and nearly 600,000 sheep.

There remains the country situated in the Rift Valley from the Kedong to the Uaso Nyiro. The Kedong River does not itself enter the Masai Reserve as a stream flowing above ground except in the wet weather and it is, therefore,

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

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SECTION VII

THE MASAI EXTRA PROVINCIAL DISTRICT

GENERAL NOTE

MASAILAND constitutes an Extra Provincial District under an Officer in Charge, holding the powers of a Provincial Commissioner, with two District Commissioners, stationed at Kajiado and Narok. The legislation in force in other parts of the Colony applies to the District, but the Outlying District Ordinance, No. 25 of 1902, has also been applied to it, in order to provide a means for controlling immigration from other tribes, a matter to which, as will be subsequently shown, much importance is attached by Masai tribesmen. The area of the District is 15,177 square miles and the population was estimated in 1945 at 53,000.[1] The density is thus 3·4 per square mile.

The Masai District contains in its more northern section a considerable area of land which ranks for agricultural or pastoral purposes with parts of the neighbouring Highlands reserved for European use, though it is to be noted that the rainfall here is more variable than in the central part of the Highlands. The lower parts of the District have a lower and even more variable rainfall, with the result that there is an area, conservatively estimated at a little over 3,000 square miles, which is arid and for all practical purposes waterless.[2] But the value of the large area held by the Masai is not to be judged by its agricultural possibilities, for if the Masai no longer justify the character assigned to them by history as "a virile tribe of predatory nomads," they have at all events maintained their traditional habit of life as a pastoral people, and though there is some cultivation in the Nairage-Ngare area and also near Ngong, this forms only an infinitesimal part of the District, and is for the most part carried out by Kikuyu immigrants on behalf of the local Masai.

It is of interest to note that in 1904 the number of cattle was estimated at only 50,000 and the sheep and goats at 600,000. This may have been an underestimate, though it must be realized that the country was still to some extent suffering from the effects of the great rinderpest epidemic of 1890, which had entailed such catastrophic results both on the numbers and the military power of the Masai. By 1914 the estimate had gone up to 600,000 head of cattle and over a million and half sheep and goats.[3] The Masai herds suffered severely in the drought of 1933 and 1934, when their losses of cattle were estimated at over a quarter of a million. But a recent estimate has put the number of cattle at over 500,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys. The further increase in the number of cattle is to some extent affected by the existence of tsetse, which is prevalent on the South Kavirondo boundary, in the extreme west, and also in the middle area, where the Kajiado and Narok Districts join. But if the present estimate of the stock is correct,

[1] Kenya Colony Blue Book, 1948, page 150.

[2] There is a summary of the physical conditions of the district by L. Jones at page 49 of Africa, January, 1939, together with a useful bibliography.

[3] Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, C. R. Swadling, 1918, page 9.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

the Masai must, considering their small numbers, have a larger potential capital per head than any other tribe in East or Central Africa.

Practically the whole population may be said to belong to the Masai tribe, though there are a small number of immigrants, numbering rather less than one thousand in all, ninety per cent. being Kikuyu. As shown above, they are for the most part employed by the Masai in the cultivation of the small area of land used for agricultural purposes. There has been a certain amount of intermarriage, but the penetration of the country by the Kikuyu is viewed with distrust by the Masai, and three Alien Committees have lately been established in order to consider measures for the control of alien immigration. An area of 47 square miles (known locally as Olenguruone) within the Masai Native Land Unit was set aside in 1942 for "squatters" displaced from European farms, most of whom are Kikuyu.[1] But this area will remain politically separate, and it will not affect the position of the Masai as a homogeneous population.

Early records refer to the existence in Masailand of a number of Dorobo, of whom Masai tradition speaks as the original inhabitants of the country. When Europeans first came into contact with the Masai, part of the Dorobo were still leading a primitive life in the bush, while part served the Masai as herdsmen and in some cases had small herds of their own. These people have, however, now been absorbed by the Masai and are not readily distinguishable from them.

THE MASAI TRIBE

Reference will be found in the Chapter on Tanganyika to the circumstances in which the Masai tribe, as it existed in 1890, was cut in two by the international boundary drawn between Kenya and Tanganyika.[2] The area thus left to the Masai in Kenya, now estimated at 15,177 square miles, compares with the area of 18,470 square miles now held by the Tanganyika Masai, with an estimated population of 32,168, and a density of 1.7 per square mile. The proceedings as the result of which the Kenya Masai were in 1911 placed in occupation of their present area have had a prominent place in the controversies connected with the alienation of native lands in the Colony, but it will be sufficient to refer here to the facts as summarized in paragraphs 635 to 674 of the Report of the Land Commission of 1933.[3] The Masai lands are now held as a Native Land Unit under the terms of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance 28 of 1938 and the Kenya (Native Areas) Order in Council 1939. There is, however, one fact which differentiates the Masai lands from those occupied by other tribes under the terms of this legislation, or those held by the Tanganyika Masai. Whatever the judicial value of the Agreements made with the Kenya Masai in 1904 and 1911, it is held, in the words used by the Governor of Kenya in 1946, that they "have the validity of a Treaty."[4] If so, the terms of the Order confirming the Agreement of 1911 constitute a moral obligation to the Government to reserve those lands for the exclusive use of the Masai, "so long

[1] Report on Native Affairs 1939–45, page 14. But see also the Agrarian Problem in Kenya, 1953, page 14 for more recent developments. Most of the Kikuyu are said to have abandoned their lands in the Settlement.

[2] Chapter III, page 180.

[3] Cmd. 4556 (1934), page 183. For fuller details see Chapter III of Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, previously referred to.

[4] Despatch No. 94 dated 17 April, 1946. The Agreement of 1911 is printed on page 377 of the Report of the Land Commission previously referred to.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

divided into two sections, the agricultural ('l-oikop) and the pastoral Masai, there now remains in Tanganyika little vestige of the former.[1] A few scattered plots are cultivated by Masai, but it is with the help of alien labour. For the rest, there a little cultivation by the small Sonjo Tribe (5,521 in the 1948 Census), a people living below the Rift Wall who have not been assimilated by the Masai. The only other tribe in the District, the Dorobo (believed to number about 1,500), who are known traditionally as the "hunting people," are possibly a survival of the original inhabitants, and have become practically a servile class to the Masai.

As a pastoral people the Masai are semi-nomadic in the sense that they move with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that they in effect practise a system of rotational grazing. They are credited with the possession of three-quarters of a million cattle and large herds of sheep and goats, but the number of their stock is subject to large and rapid variation in times of drought, and moreover East Coast fever, rinderpest and other diseases take a heavy toll of them. In the late 'eighties a combination of drought and disease almost wiped out their cattle and greatly reduced the numbers of the people themselves. Though like many other African pastoral tribes they make a cult of their cattle, they show little interest in improving their quality, and in the past have been prepared to dispose of them only in so far as they might need cash for their Poll Tax or for the few articles of food required to satisfy a people whose ordinary diet is limited to milk, meat and blood. To some extent, this position was improved during the recent War, which provided a stimulus to production of beasts for sale.

From an economic point of view therefore the Masai present a difficult problem, since the contribution they make to the economy of the Territory does little to justify their occupation of so extensive an area as twelve million acres. From a social point of view they are also a problem, owing to their reluctance to avail themselves of facilities for education. And as will be further explained in the following pages, they present an equally difficult problem of native administration, for their social system is still reminiscent of a period when their chief concern was in fighting or raiding at the expense of their neighbours.

THE FORMATION OF THE SYSTEM OF NATIVE AUTHORITIES

As already indicated, the diverse social and economic conditions prevailing in different parts of the Province have been reflected in the variety of forms taken by the Native Authorities as now constituted. Before, however, proceeding to describe these in detail, it will be convenient to give here a statement which summarizes their chief features. See page 284.

THE MOSHI NATIVE AUTHORITIES

In the Moshi District the present formation of the Chagga Native Authorities is the result of a somewhat radical reorganization carried out in 1946. Up to that time the Chagga had been split up over nineteen chiefdoms, divided from each other not only physically by the deep ravines of the mountain side, but also politically by the obstinate clan feuds and jealousies of past days. These chiefdoms were all treated as of equal standing, though their jurisdictions varied from 11,500 taxpayers in the Machame chiefdom to 400 in the Mbau. They were united in a Council of Chagga Chiefs, which was conspicuous mainly

[1] The Masai, A. C. Hollis, 1905, pages xi and xii.

[pp. 284-286 not processed]

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

These figures were obtained by reading through tax registers to groups of elders, who supplied the information. The number of wives showing in the registers were not revealed to them, and it was noted that in many cases the numbers given by the elders exceeded those recorded in the books.

The percentages to be drawn from this table are of special interest when compared with another tribe. For this reason they are tabulated below, in conjunction with those of the Hehe, figures from Brown and Hutt's 'Anthropology in Action', page 107.

Marriage Statistics.

	MASAI	*HEHE*
Unmarried men	42.2%	25.3%) of adult
Men with one wife	35.1%	48.4%) male
Men with two or more wives ...	22.7%	26.3%) population.
Wives for every 100 married men ...	161	133

Two points of interest arise from these figures. The first is the much larger proportion of unmarried men amongst the Masai. These fall mainly in the warrior class, as the following table shows :—

Marriage of Morans.

	Kibaya	*Samatian*	*Engutoweet*	*Longido*	*Total*
Total morans	123	139	66	234	562
Total married morans	17	23	20	85	145
Percentage married	13.8%	14.8%	30.3%	36.3%	25.8%

The other interesting point is that one would expect both the percentage of polygamous marriages to total marriages, and the number of married women per 100 men to be much higher in the case of the Masai than the figures actually reveal. The reason for this lies in the number of dependent women not classified by the Masai as wives. The first table shows that for 900 adult males there are only 900 wives; but census figures show a preponderance of females over males, and the 900 males probably represent at least 1,200 adult females, the balance being made up by mothers (with husbands still alive) living with their morani sons, deceased brothers' wives with male issue, (not therefore taken to wife), etc.

In one area the distribution of the women (wives only) amongst the ages was worked out; it was found that there were approximately [illegible]

Although it was found that on an average each gote pays only four taxes, the probability is that there are usually more than four huts to a gote, for those morani who pay tax but do not possess a hut are thought to be more than offset by those women who do possess a hut yet pay no tax. The number of cattle to each gote were examined in the Longido area, with the results shown in the table below :—

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

Number of cattle.		Gates.		Percentage.
		Cattle per Gate.		
Under 50	—	52	—	10.1%
50 — 100	—	92	—	17.9%
101 — 200	—	193	—	37.5%
201 — 300	—	115	—	22.4%
301 — 400	—	34	—	6.8%
401 — 500	—	11	—	2.1%
501 — 600	—	9	—	1.7%
601 — 700	—	3		
701 — 800	—	2		
801 — 900	—	1	—	1.5%
901 —1000	—	1		
Over 1000	—	1		
		Total 514		

As 156,908 cattle were owned by these 514 gates it follows that the average number per gat is just over three hundred, but this figure is misleading, for two-thirds of the gates possess less than two hundred head.*

The advantages of marriage not only include the acquisition of a woman to bear one's children and to tend one's cattle. For marriage sets up a new relationship with one's wife's family, whereby each party is expected to help the other. If a father-in-law loses his cattle by drought or disease, the son-in-law is expected to contribute towards a new herd; if a son-in-law strikes bad times, the father-in-law — if only for the sake of his daughter — will transfer cattle to him.

At times, also, a daughter will, by amicable arrangement with the son-in-law, return to live with her father for considerable periods, being visited from time to time by her husband, or again a grandson will be sent from home to help herd his grandfather's cattle.

The fulfilment of these various obligations leads to much travelling and consequent contact almost as much as the actual betrothal and marriage does. This latter is a lengthy process. Early betrothal is the rule and involves a long engagement, during which the man is expected to maintain contact with his future in-laws. Frequent travelling is also necessary in other connections; for example a man goes himself or sends a son to examine the water and pasture of the area to which he proposes to move, and as we have seen the morans are always on the move, visiting friends, begging bullock for meat-feasts, etc. So in spite of the size of the area which they inhabit, and of their scattered settlements, the Masai maintain very close contact amongst themselves.

Another point of considerable importance in Masai family affairs is the adoption of children, frequently practised both in respect of Masai

* The mean number of cattle per gate lies between 100 and 200 or between 25 and 50 head per adult male taxpayer—Ed.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

422 428 Women possess no property save their ornaments. Of these the beads and the necklaces become the property of the daughters, but the wire ornaments are thrown away.

915 916 *Spirit Life.*—My informants declared that the Masai had no belief in a spirit life after death, or in spirits of any kind, but I am not satisfied on this point. For some reason (probably a restriction with a heavy penalty attached) they were unwilling to discuss this subject.

754 *Curses.*—The death-bed curse is considered very terrible, as there is no possible way of escaping its evil effects, for a curse can only be removed by the person who uttered it. A man who has been cursed will use every possible means to have the curse withdrawn immediately lest the utterer of the curse should die. (A curse [915] uttered during life is supposed often to remain inactive until the death of the utterer, and this in itself seems to indicate a belief in some sort of spirit activity.)

PART VIII.—CLANS.

614 The following is a list of the clans and sub-clans among the Masai (it is as nearly complete as possible):—

Main Clan Name.	*Sub-clans.*
No. 1. Laimer	(1) Laimer (2) Legutoi (3) Leteya (4) Loikumai (5) Lamothero (6) Libartimara (7) Loigur.
No. 2. Ndarmiro	(1) Ndarmiro (2) Lanabegnara.
No. 3. Molelian	(1) Molelian (2) Mberekimeti
No. 4. Magwera	(1) Magwera (2) Lowgu.

PART IX.—CATTLE AND SHEEP.

933 As a pastoral people the Masai have many very interesting customs connected with their flocks, but information on this subject is very hard to obtain, as details of the greatest interest to anthropologists are often not given because they are considered too trifling or too well-known to be worth discussion. A few interesting notes were, however, obtained.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Protecting Lost Cattle and Sheep.—If during the day cattle or sheep stray and cannot be found before nightfall, the following interesting ceremony is performed. There are certain men and women (they are not necessarily anything to do with medicine men or witch doctors), who have the power to protect straying cattle, and as soon as a herdsman discovers that some of his animals are lost and cannot be found before dark, he sends with all haste to one of these individuals. If possible the messenger should be a small boy, and he takes with him the staff that the herdsman of the lost cattle was carrying at the time. This staff is handed over to the person who is to perform the protecting ceremony, which is as follows:—The staff is taken and tied up with a leather thong removed from the "Protector's" waist, and is then placed at the head of the "Protector's" bed until the following morning. As an alternative, if there is no staff available, a cinder is taken from the fire and is placed in a cooking pot, the mouth of which is then covered with a skin dress belonging to the "Protector," and the skin dress tied down with the leather thong. In either case, while the tying is being done certain fixed formulæ are uttered by the "Protector." These may be translated as follows: "I tie the hyæna's mouth," "I tie the lion's mouth," "I tie the leopard's mouth," "I blind the thief's eyes," etc. Once this ceremony is performed the lost animals are considered safe from all dangerous animals and from thieves. In fact, even the owner would pass right by them and not notice them, for they have become invisible.

Next morning the animals are "released" by the "Protector" and the owner can go out and find them at once. There is no fee paid to the "Protector" for performing this ceremony, but he (or she) should be given a little snuff.

Driving Out Disease.—In the case of a serious outbreak of disease, one of the some "Protectors" is sent for to perform a "driving-out" ceremony. All the cattle and sheep of the infected village are brought together into the cattle enclosure and a ceremony called "*Choma kwenyegiaka*" is performed. The "Protector" selects a young bull and a young heifer of about the same size and of the same colour (these two animals must be of a single colour and not piel or spotted in any way). He also chooses a small boy and a small girl. He then instructs these two children to drive the two animals slowly right round the outside of the enclosure and back through the entrance to the cattle again. This "going round" ceremony is accompanied by appropriate sentences by the "Protector" bidding the disease depart, and the ceremony ends. The "Protector" is given beer as a fee. After such a ceremony any cattle disease is supposed to die out quickly.

Preventing Mating.—Among the Masai it is a common custom to put a special shield on to bulls to prevent indiscriminate mating. This shield consists of a square flap of leather which is fastened just behind the animals' forelegs by thongs which come up over the ribs and are tied in the region of the animal's back. This practice is especially common when cattle from several villages are being herded together during the day. Then when the cattle return in the evening to their respective

233 villages the shields are removed to allow mating to take place with the owner's
232 own cows. The same method of preventing mating is used with rams, but to a much lesser extent. If a man has several good rams he keeps shields on a few of them at a time in order to use his rams in rotation.

233 *Blood-letting.*—Among the Masai, blood is a staple article of diet. It is either
[362] drunk hot and fresh, or cooked with bits of fat and meat into a "black-pudding," or else mixed with fresh milk and allowed to curdle.

In order to obtain blood every sheep and every head of cattle is bled at intervals. Cattle are bled by one method and sheep by another. In the case of cattle, the animal is seized and held, and a thong is then tied round its neck until the vein at the side of the neck swells up under the pressure of the blood. The vein is then
[413] punctured by means of a special instrument which may be termed a "blood-letting arrow." The blood-letting arrow consists of a small stocky shaft into the end of which a small flat blade is inserted. This blade has a curved edge and is very sharp. This arrow is used with a special bow which is always small and usually very roughly made. The arrow is not shot from a distance, but *placed against* the swollen vein. The bow string is only pulled back very slightly and when released drives the arrow just far
[416] enough to open the vein. The blood is caught in a gourd and the animal released.

Sheep are bled by a different method; the animal is held and a small incision is made just above one eye and blood drawn off.

362 *Meat-feasts.*—Young men and old alike indulge in frequent meat-feasts, meat
527 being a staple article of diet. No men may eat meat inside the villages, so meat-feasts take place either in special huts built at a little distance from the villages, or in a cave if there is one near-by.

There are certain rules and regulations concerning meat-feasts, as follows:—

(1) No man may eat meat that has been touched by a woman.

[331] [525] (2) No Masai man may slaughter cattle himself. In every case a man of the Wandorobo tribe must be called in to kill the animal, and he must be rewarded by being given a part of a foreleg.

(3) The neck, stomach and some of the intestines are always given to the women, who may come and fetch them. The breast must be given to the man to whom the slaughtered animal belonged.

(4) During a meat-feast, some at least of the females must sleep in the hut or cave where the meat is, and it is usual for all to do so. If by any chance the fire should go right out in the course of the night, it would be considered a very serious matter indeed. In such a case no one inside the hut may go out by the normal entrance, but must break through the walls (in the case of a cave they must break through the brushwood screen which is invariably built across part of the entrance to the mouth of the cave), and all the meat that is left over must be deserted and left to the lyenas. The breaking of this rule is said to result invariably in the death of the miscreant.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

The 1948 census gives the following figures:

		Male	Female	Total
Kenya	Kisii	17,000	17,700	34,810
	Kajiado	13,000	13,000	26,470
	Samburu	8,000*	10,000*	18,000*
	D-Turkana	1,794	1,999	3,420
		41,140	42,699	83,711

* Estimated.

		Male	Female	Total
Tanganyika Territory	Arusha	24,710	27,210	51,920
	Masai	23,271	24,078	47,349
	Mbulumbulu	729	740	1,469
	Handeni	650	651	979
	Pare	650	747	1,479
		48,970	53,226	102,196
Total for Masailand		91,110	95,925	185,907

This shows only a small increase over the 1941 estimate for the Kenya Masai, when 10,000 Samburu are deducted; but it doubles the previous estimate for the Samburu and shows a substantial increase in the Tanganyika Masai.

The Swedish estimates for the Kenya Masai are:

	Cattle	Goats and sheep	Donkeys
1918	700,000	2,000,000	10,000
1930	700,000 to 1,000,000	1,000,000	170,000

The figures for cattle among the Tanganyika Masai are 800,000,* but these may be underestimated. They vary in fact from about 600,000 to 700,000 according to season and other factors.†

The total area of Masailand in Kenya and Tanganyika is about 41,000 square miles or 26,240,000 acres (13,000 square miles or 8,800,000 acres in Kenya, and 28,000 square miles or 18,040,000 acres in Tanganyika). After deducting 3,000 square miles or 2,000,000 acres from the Kenya Land Unit as being useless on account of bush or tsetse fly, the Kenya Masai have about three acres per head of stock which is shared with sheep and goats; whereas in country such as theirs cattle alone require anything from three to five acres per head, owing to the low rainfall, poor grazing, scarcity of rivers, and frequent droughts. Their Land Unit is also a Game Reserve.

Sources: Swedlund, 1918; E.A. Census, 1948.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

At the height of their power in the middle of the 19th century the Masai occupied a stretch of country which covered some 500 miles from north to south, and, at its widest, 150 miles from east to west. The northern limit was approximately Lake Baringo (now small flats), 30 miles south of Lake Rudolf; the southern, Longido, near

* H. H. Page-Jones, "Water in Masailand," 1948, 1949, p. 10.
† Information from Mr. H. A. Fosbrooke.

13:Huntingford E.-6 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

Kitwa, some 50 miles south of Kilwya in Tanganyika. The most northerly Masai were (and still are) the Samburu, who in 1880 extended more than 120 miles northwards towards Lake Stefanie. This vast country, with an area amounting to some 40,000 square miles, now reduced to one-half its original size, has great variation of altitude, climate, rainfall, and vegetation. There are three vegetation zones: the first or northern has desert scrub and a desert type of grass; the second or medium zone has thorn bush and medium grass; the third or highland zone has evergreen forest, parkland, and tall grass. In Kenya, the altitude of Masailand ranges from 3,000 to 6,000 ft., though in the highlands which is between Mounts Kenya and Elgon to some 3 the land in some places rises to 9,000 ft. Most of the present Masai Local Unit is in zone 2; part of the extreme southern territory of pre-European times is in zone 1. In Tanganyika, the Masai territory is at a lower altitude, ranging from 4,000 to 6,000 ft. and including the isolated mountains Kilimanjaro and Meru. Much of this country is unhealthy, and belongs to zone 2. In Tanganyika Masailand, there is one permanent river, the Ruvu or Pangani, on the eastern boundary; there are a few seasonal rivers, but for their main water supply the Masai depend on wells, water-holes, and springs. Since only the third zone is well watered, and most of the Masai live in zone 2, their life is conditioned to a great extent by the water quest, and in the worst areas a form of transhumance is practised. In the present Masai Local Unit in Kenya, the rivers are few, and the rainfall low. Most of the few large rivers run close together in both country useless for grazing; the main rivers, too, rise in the Mau and unite low than halfway across the Local Unit in one stream, the Uaso Nyiro. There are no lakes except the salt lakes Magadi, Natron, and Monyara, though in the northern part formerly occupied by the Masai is the chain of lakes Baringo, Hannington (salt), Solai, Nakuru (salt), Elmenteita, and Naivasha. The Rift Valley, in which these lakes lie, runs right through Masailand from south to north. In many places the floor of the valley is a wide grassy plain; in others, as in the Kedong Valley, it is narrow with lofty precipitous walls. The rainfall is low, the average for the eight years 1935-7 and 1939-43 at Narok being 18 ins., with a range of 47 ins. to 12 ins. It is reported that at Longido in one year there fell only 6 ins., three of them in one night. With such a rainfall, grazing cannot be anything but scanty. The average rainfall recorded by three gauges in the Masai region between Kilwya and Arusha for six years is 24.4 ins. There are two seasons, the dry weather from June to November, followed by short rains in November and December, after which there may be rain in January and February (January: 1918, 0.80 in.; 1919, 4.20 ins.; 1917, 0.40 ins.; February: 1915, 1.48 ins.; 1916, 1.30 ins.; 1917, 5.33 ins.; though in 1918—a dry year in Kenya—there was only 0.28 in. in February). The dry weather is called "the months of hunger" by the Masai. The occasional wet season is from March to May, "the months of plenty," though small amounts of rain may fall in other months, notably June to August, which are called "the months of showers." The figures given for Kenya refer only to Narok, and in the more arid parts that is not only less rainfall, but the small precipitation out of season has little effect on grazing or water supply. Except in the highland area, where there is some seasonal variation, day temperatures vary only between 80° and 60° F.

Summary: Thomson, 1885; Hinderbeck, 1918; Page Jones, 1940; Jones, 1938.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

Semi-pastoral Pursuits

In dry weather the cattle graze round the permanent waters; in the wet season the cattle are driven to the temporary waters that form, leaving the grass round the permanent waters to rest. In both seasons the kraals are built a few miles from the water supply. On one day the cattle are taken to drink, and on the next day they

are taken in another direction, which means that they drink only on alternate days, but at the same time graze over a larger area than if they went to water every day, thus helping to conserve the grazing. There are two types of kraal. The married men with their wives and children live in one type, and the warriors with their mothers, sisters, and girl lovers in another type. The main structural difference between the two types seems to be that the warriors' kraal has no fence, while the elders' kraal is surrounded by a thorn fence. The elders' kraal varies in size: it may contain from seven to several hundred huts, though very large examples (such as were seen by Tribki and von Höhnel) are probably uncommon; the average is probably about 20 to 30. The warriors' kraal may contain between 50 and 100. In the elders' kraal the huts are built round the inside of the fence, which is also the enclosure in which the livestock are housed at night. The number of gates in the fence depends upon the number and size of the families which live in it. Each family has exclusive rights over at least one gate, and a large family with many cattle has more than one. The kraal, *enkang*, thus approximates to a village, for several families live in it, and the gate, *ilokorai*, has come to signify the family, the word being used with the article (*en-ilokorai*) as a synonym for *il-meret*, "the family." When a man sets up his home in a kraal, he puts his first wife in a hut on the right of his gate as one goes in, and the second wife on the left; the third, if he has one, goes on the right, and the fourth on the left, and so on, the huts being so arranged that each succeeding wife lives immediately to the right or left of her gate. The people on each side of the gate form two distinct groups, *in-kidokin*, the other of which is left most in matters of inheritance. (See below, p. 108.) The warriors' kraal or *e-manyata* is inhabited by all the members of one age-set in one district, who constitute a company, *ariti*, and the kraals are built in arbitrary positions. With the men live their mothers, and some young sisters who help their mothers, and if old enough become lovers of warriors. The mother, her warrior son, and younger children share a hut, all sleeping on separate beds; when the warrior wants to sleep with his lover he goes to another hut. The warrior's husband may visit her at any time, and when he comes her hut must be given up to the pair. The inhabitants of a *manyata* vary considerably in number, ranging from 20 to several hundred.

Livestock

Cattle

Cattle, *in-kishu*, are the object on which the lives of the Masai are centred, and on which their whole existence depends. Their importance is both material and spiritual, and people who perform any kind of work other than tending cattle are despised by the Masai, whose attitude towards cattle is similar to that of the Nuer. The Masai believe that in the beginning God gave them all the cattle in the world, and therefore nobody else has a right to possess any. Cattle provide the Masai warrior with his food in the form of milk, blood, and meat, and they give him spiritual and mental satisfaction through their existence, though it would seem that there is less outward and ritual expression of the love of cattle than among some other East African tribes who combine pastoralism with agriculture. This, however, does not by any means indicate that the Masai are an agricultural people who have wholly given up agriculture and taken to pastoralism. Since the Masai, unlike the Nuer, kill large numbers of their cattle for eating, it was essential in the past for them to maximize the size of their herds by continual raiding, for the natural reproductive rate would not have been enough. On account of its high ritual value, milk may not be drunk on the same day that meat is eaten, nor may it be boiled, but it may be drunk mixed with blood. Urine also has a high ritual value, being the food of cattle, and is used as a sign of peace. In 1936 the average size of an elder's herd was officially estimated at about 70 head of cattle, 40 sheep and goats, and 10 donkeys; this was based on the estimate of 120,000 as the total number of cattle belonging to the Kenya Masai. In Tanganyika, it was found that the average number

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL.12 Masai FL.12

of cattle to a family (Hobley) in 1905 was between 100 and 200 head. There appears to be no such system on the Nandi *kapkic* or Kipsigis *kimorukon*. (See above, p. 21.) Milking is done by girls and women into gourds; the calf is allowed to suck, and if it dies the skin, sometimes stuffed with grass and called *el-kuta*, is presented to the cow at each milking. The milk yield is about three pints a day. Cattle are bled in the same way as by the Nandi, with a blunted arrow, *el-gumi*, shot into the jugular vein, and the blood is caught in a gourd. Sheep also are bled. Cattle are branded with marks on the rump or flank which indicate the owner's clan or sub-clan, with sometimes a private mark as well; the ears are also clipped for the same purpose. Salt for cattle is obtained by driving the herds to a salt-lick, *en-kikiti*. The Masai are said to have effective remedies for diseases of cattle, but their efficacy has never been enough to prevent heavy loss during epidemics of rinderpest and pleuro-pneumonia.

Donkeys

422. The Masai keep large numbers of donkeys (*Lorikon*, sing. *o-lorikon*) which are used for carrying their goods when they move house (*olari*). Donkeys are marked by slitting the ears in different ways.

The Status of Cattle

423. The status of cattle as regards ownership is uncertain. Merker says that women may own cattle; Thomson says they may not, and on such a point the statements of a traveller are open to question. Fabricius says that they may.* But further investigation of cattle as property, and of their status in the light of ritual value is required.

Inheritance of Cattle

424. There does not seem to be any clear account of the rules which control the division of a man's stock among his sons. The guiding principle is that the eldest son of the senior wife gets the largest share, inheriting not only the cattle given in trust to his mother, but also those which his father had kept for his own use. Inheritance is affected also by the " gate " (*kishome*) arrangement in the kraal (*kor*) that cattle may not pass from one side to the other. If a wife on the left side dies without sons, her cattle may not go to a man on the right side so long as there are any sons by other wives on the left side. This subject also needs further investigation.

Grazing and Water Rights

425. Land is not owned by individuals, but by the sub-tribe (*el-oloo*), and grazing rights are acquired by residence. Water rights are controlled by the clan. In the old days, when the Masai occupied new territory, each section, according to tradition, claimed a well, spring, or water-hole on behalf of his clan. Individual rights over water are thus ruled out by tradition, and the senior member of a clan living at the water decides, after consultation with other elsewhere, the order in which people take their cattle to water. But a Masai when actually on the move with cattle may claim, and must be given, priority over local cattle at any well or spring. Where water is plentiful, however, as in a river, possession is communal.

Division of Labour

426. In a purely pastoral society like that of the Masai the expression " economic unit " has little meaning, but so far as it can be said to exist, it is the family. It must be remembered, however, that the normal practice is for families to be divided between the father's kraal, *enk-aji*, and the warriors' kraal, *o-manyata*, and that the

* (*Masai*, personal communication.
† (See note 1 of the (Kikuyu) subsection on tradition, p. 109. — Ed.)

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL11 Mount FL11
Agricultural Peoples

In 1950 the O.Chemos numbered about 2,000 (3,429 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Nandi stock, being descended from a Nandi section called Kimnyigen, they have absorbed a variety of refugee tribesmen, and have become rather mixed. According to their present day informants, they had originally been villagers of the south end of Lake Baringo, but they were dispersed on account of Nandi raids, and some of the tribesmen, leaving behind all their cattle, took refuge on Rukwa Island in Lake Baringo. They are regular cultivators and possess cattle, though even Elkhorst was seen in 1951. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and pointed conical thatched roofs, and walls of grass and sticks. There are recorded here two permanent villages known as "Kimnyigen Kubwa," and "Kimnyigen Ndogo." In the Tigithi valley, a few miles south of Lake Baringo, the chiefly garbed Nandi almost touch each other, and the semi-nudist gerontocrats are surrounded by young gallowglass.

In general the O.Chemos keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Nandi; they have circumcision and clitoris and other ceremonies, and practise the "Imbori" system of the pastoralists, though without the association. Today they have some 100,000 acres of poor land, some of it with the cultivation, but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus enhancing in part the economic position of O.Chemo to become cattle people again. In the days of Elkhorst and Fisher's tourists, Kimnyigen was an important station on the caravan route, and was famous for the meat that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into "shambas" (the word of them to their native speech) which were interspersed by irrigation channels bringing water from there across the river Tigithi. This system was still working in Chemo's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[1] Besides agriculture, the O.Chemos hunt and trapped, using the bow, and spears of fish and Clarias lazera.

It is possible that the fishing group called O.Mobi who live on the east shore of Lake Baringo is to be classed as O.Chemo.[2] They possess no a fleet of fish canoes which, when Chemo and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced no O.Chemo but it seems now to have evolved to considerable physical degeneration, and to the appearance of infants in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Dahlak blood in them.

The O.Kimoi consist Mount Moru are a large tribe of agricultural Nandi, originally of Nandi stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Nandi as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Nyangaya in Southern Nandiland are also to be classed as agricultural Nandi.[3]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *el-moinot*. On circumcision[4] he ceases an agnarit and becomes a warrior, *el-murani*, [5] one who is circumcised,[6] and may associate with unmarried girls. At the *el-gutet* ceremony he becomes an elder, *el-moruo*. Whatever may exactly occur there, they become senior warriors, after the *el-gutet* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[1] A. D. Chemo, (Ms), fol. 3a, 4a-5b.
[2] A. C. Hollis and F. C. Fisher, "The Orkoiyot," (Ms), 1911, p. 101; von Höhnel, II, pp. 196-98.
[3] The people known as Kipsikis in southern Turkanaland are not Nandi, but people of Nandi stock, who have remained there.
[4] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 15-17 years; Chemo gives the lower limit as 16 or 17.

14-Ore & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 F'L.12 Masai (1/2).
Kikuyu (1/2)
Kenya (1/2).

(ii) *The Masai.*

The Masai are a pastoral tribe whose sole occupation is the tending of large herds of cattle, sheep and goats. It has been estimated that they have about 20 head of cattle, and twice as many sheep and goats, per head of the population.

The staple articles of diet are meat, milk, and blood. The blood is drawn from the living animal by puncture of the jugular vein with an arrow. Various roots and herbs are used to make infusions which are used either with boiled meat or with milk. The men, while in the "morus," or warrior class, subsist practically entirely on these articles of diet. The rest of the population, in addition to these four items, which form the main part of their food, eat also some bananas, beans, millet, arrowroot, maize, sugar and honey, as these are available. The use of maize, which was introduced only a few years ago, is increasing.

For the greater part of the year there is an abundance of meat, blood and milk, but in periods of severe drought, when, in spite of the large herds, the milk supply is inadequate, the consumption of these vegetable foods is increased, and even the "morus" may be compelled to supplement their meat and milk diet.

Berries are eaten by the warriors when on safari, i.e., on hunting or fighting expeditions. It appears also to be customary to send the pregnant women into the bush to eat berries. The berries would make an insignificant contribution to the main constituents of the diet, but it is probable that they are of considerable importance as an antiscorbutic addition.

One section of the tribe, the Loitokitok, have adopted a frankly mixed diet. It is of interest that piles among the Masai is confined to this section, who eat edible earths from various sources with their vegetable foods.

(i) Chemical Composition of Native Foodstuffs, Edible Earths, and Mineral Waters.

The results of the chemical analysis of 150 samples of substances used in the dietary of the two tribes are given in Appendix I. Certain points of interest are discussed below.

(i) *Foodstuffs.*

In the following table a comparison is made between the analyses of the chief Kenya foodstuffs and analyses of similar foodstuffs grown in other regions, probably in Europe or America, as quoted by Sherman (1926). All the figures are given as grams per 100 grams dry matter.

	Kenya Maize.	Maize.
Ca	·018	·011
P	·41	·31
Na	·026	·004
Cl	·05	·058
K	·42	·41

231	613
233	614
262	643
304	721
411	754
524	759
564	802
595	805

[For mythological accounts of the origin of:

livestock and dogs	see category 530, p. 510
honey as a source of food	360
board game	361
club carved of wood	362
blood as a source of food	363
blacksmiths	364
clans and lineages	369-381
counting and number words	970
7-day week	970
polygamy	977
ol oiboni and chief	977
circumcision	982
double-edged knife	982
sorcerers	982
physicians	982
mandate for war on non- Masai	982-988.]

/xvii copy./

171
713

To come now to the early histories, it is to be emphasized at the outset that, for any Semitic people, every time we come to the early period, through linguistic comparison, research into names, and literary remains, we are already able to uncover a well-established mark of myths that came very close to the Biblical early history (dragon fight in connection with the creation of the world, tree of paradise and serpent, first parents, flood) and furthermore, as religion, a severe cult (worship of the dead) to be described almost as benevolent. But we come across exactly the same thing, in its most original form, among our cattle nomads, the Hawi, whereby it should further be noted that also among the oldest Semites, whom we have to think of more as nomads than as agriculturalists, cattle, as their mythology clearly reveals, must have played a great role, nor perhaps the small livestock or the camel and the donkey, to say nothing of the horse, which only became known from Asia to the Semites here around 2000 B.C.

(213)

274
271
273
192

There is also the fact that among the Hawi we find a series of positively ancient traits that bring us close to the first Arabian original homeland of all West Semites, and which otherwise come to us most clearly only in the religion of the ancient Chaldeans (and then transformed into the more polytheistically accepted one of the Babylonians). To these belong last of all the struggle of the deity with the dragon Yamanit on the morning of creation: when Semites compare the word for dragon, ay-tiamat (Sem.), with the Babylonian tiâmat (later popular pronunciation somewhat like tiamath, it is certainly not merely an accidental homophony. Since the word for paradise, Semitic, also goes back to the Babylonian word, "garden," which in the Nestorianic period must still have sounded like the reconstructed Gidu (cf. similarly Gadd Gudea, or that close still Gadda, and many other examples) (1).

1. When in Hawi ay-tiamat also means here, sea=ye, Arabic again often a striking analogy here: cf. Arabic al-gôha (here al-gôha), "heaven," but al-gauth, "sea=ye."

/10 men./
eyes are almond-shaped, straight or somewhat slanted. The nose is extended, narrow, and, at the root, flat or very moderately deep--as compared to the forehead. The alae are narrow and very flat, the nostrils roundish to longitudinally oval, less often transversely oval. The bridge of the nose is straight, sometimes slightly convex. The lips are full, without appearing actually protruding. Protruding, thick lips are something so rare and striking that they were duly noted by the famous Leibniz -- thick lip (or actually: upper, bred mine). The ears are small, except for the hypertrophy of the upper edge of the ear and ear lobes caused by the wearing of heavy ornaments. The hair is evenly distributed over the scalp, which is more closely shown on recently shaved heads. The hair often appears "tufty," but this is artificially produced. Only at a length of from one to three centimeters does it curl slightly and /fly/ almost never becomes completely curly. The arms and especially the legs are very long, the wrists thin, hands and feet, especially among female individuals, small, narrow, and delicate, the fingers are slender and often strikingly long and narrow, the fingernails long, narrow, and slightly arched.

Even if the racial peculiarity of the three branches were to be traced anthropologically, one can determine an even closer connection ethnographically, which must lead to the conviction that all three belong to the same people. The difference in their principal occupations, to be sure, seems at /11. 1 appears here/ five glaves to indicate a sharp division. As has already been pointed out above, however, one can easily explain these differences by the consistent behavior of a people of similar customs and habits under unlike external circumstances. The proficiency for work varying, based on the eagerness for a good diet, and the nomadic life necessarily growing out of it were common. While the Wandorobbo had to endure it when their livestock fell victim to epidemics and raids of the strong Wakwafi, the latter, under pressure from the still mightier Masai, had to flee from the open plains to find existence in the mountains. The Wakwafi preserved

Ill. 5. Young Mawi. 3 wall a pure-blooded, 3 mixed with Negro blood, 1 doubtful.

The Mawi's protected

what resistant of their treatment by giving up their nomad life, whereas the Wandereiden, by sacrificing their lands, were able to continue their ancient nomadic life as hunters; and neither of them needed to forgo the sweet dam.

Fig. Even though, in general, one should be very careful in ethnology about drawing conclusions from linguistic bases, I cannot particularly love, on behalf of the three branches' belonging to one people, to point to their language as well.

As a matter of fact, we find the same language among the Mawi and Wabuchi, with the insignificant dialects, whereas the great number of Mawi dialects, sometimes differ even in their own, according to the location of their area, whereas the very widely ranging Mawi probably underwent almost all the dialects. In addition, for the Wabuchi, in places, according to the degree of their mixture with Negro tribes, a language of the latter's a more or less familiar. Of the Wandereiden, the Ki generally speak only the language of the Mawi, whereas the Ani and

/24 cows./

Fig. 1. Plan

/Stable, center: 4 fillets, calves; 2 cows and bulls, pens and sheep./

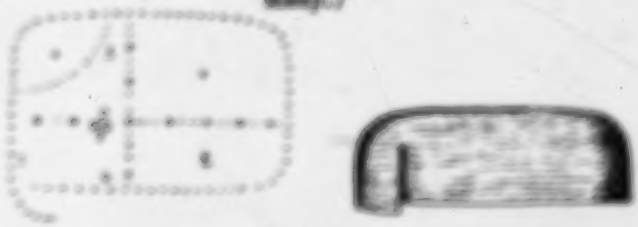


Fig. 2. Plan

1. Bed of the cows. 2. Bed of the women. 3. Hearth. 4. Shelf for young calves. 5. Household implements. 6. Shelf for young goats and sheep. 7. Fireseat.

30 centimeters thick, and this is then covered on both sides with fresh cattle dung to protect roofbeds. For protection against heavy /fur/ rain, one or three skin pelts dried and deducted water-skins on them. Toward anyone entering through the door opening (at guest's right hand) the mouth of the bed) there resides peace from

Lib Mother--35 C-5 (1891-n.1908) 1910 PL13 Wood PL13

(11 cont.)

342 (354) D13 the nearby beamb (sá gemag, which is formed by three women lying beside one another in a clover-leaf shape. Good firewood is scarce on the steppe; one must therefore use the sooty brushwood. At the opposite end of the hut is the sleeping place for the woman (a mar sáid - small bed) and beside it that for the man (a mar láid - a big bed). A latticework of poles and switches, which is covered with grass and cattle dung, like the hut walls, close the two off from each other and from the rest of the space in the hut. From the

342 516 291

Ill. 6. Mixed hut.

The carbine standing by the hut belongs to a soldier of the Peyne-lenze Troops.)

342 (352) 237 (233) inter a separate entrance leads into each of these compartments. The hut consists of a pad of dried grass over which two foldstool coat-skins are spread. Opposite the door is found a small enclosure (sá ele i sí sailm) into which young calves are put for the night. There is often found beside the door yet another enclosure (sá ele i sí haisleas) for young goats and sheep. If these are not housed in small pens built beside or on the hut.

Lib Member—04 C-6 (1951—ca. 1960) 1910 PL22 Mimeo PL22

/TS cont./

small pens built beside or on the hut. The door opening of the hut is closed off at night by means of a mat's skin hung over it or a thorny branch dragged in halfway.

/TS/ The individual huts are very close to one another. The space between two of them amounts to scarcely half a meter, so that in the evening the entire ring of huts seems closed except for the entrances. For protection against wild animals and mosquitos, the kraal is surrounded by a most barricade of thorny acacia branches, with which the entrances are also obstructed after the livestock has returned from pasture. In the place enclosed by the huts one finds a ring-shaped thorn-barricade in which the livestock stays during the night: large livestock, calves, and small livestock

Ill. 1. Kraal hut. Plastered with cattle dung.

/56 camp./
are separated from one another by thorn barricades, and the huts are often protected from damage by the cattle by means of thorny branches placed around them.

One distinguishes between kraals for the married (ng'a ni ng'ernak) and each for the women (ni ngajong). In the former live the married men (ni ngaroi, ni ngarnak) with their families, in the latter the women (ni ngajong, ni ngarnak) with their children and the half-grown, unmarried girls /V/ (ng'ibo, ngibok). One sometimes also finds several kraals built together into one. The author found a village that consisted of five kraals built next to one another, three of which were El moran kraals. A dense thorn-barricade extended around the entire kraal complex.

The married men on the average has five to six wives, weekly men have in addition also a few secondary wives to whom they are not legally married. The secondary wives are made up of widows who may not marry again or who have not remarried and

Ill. 1. Kraal: pen beside the hut.

/Pl. cont./

[illegible]

For the most part an atmosphere of dullness and boredom lies over the level of the married [illegible] of [illegible]. Only on [illegible] evenings /Sat/ do the women cover themselves with mug, especially if a few women are there on a visit and give the impetus for the gaiety. Women and women dance in separate groups. For dancing the women [illegible] themselves in a row, move forward a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps, move in a row back to the former place. The married men dance only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The rest of the accompanying song naturally refers to the life prevailing here.

[illegible]

Otherwise quiet prevails in the family hour after darkness has set in: in good weather the people still sit for a while in front of the huts, silently or softly conversing, and go to rest silently at 8:00 o'clock or 9:00.

[illegible]

Even 13-14 years ago, before the latest law took huge livestock-holdings in two great epidemics, each family had its own beasts; now, on the other hand, almost everywhere several families live together.

In the morning life begins around 4:00 o'clock, at which time the women fetch the quite young calves from the compartments and take them to the cows, where they remain for the driving out to pasture. An [illegible] the milking commences, for which all the women appear. After it is finished, breakfast, consisting of fresh milk, a rolon, [illegible] milk, soup, and thin porridge are drunk from great bottles. Bank of greater consistency are put in the mouth with the fingers. Meat is partially cut up with a knife and completely torn into bits with the teeth. The bones are not cracked before a meal. Scratching and belching while eating show good breeding. Men and women eat apart and have their separate vessels for eating and drinking. Those of the latter are shared by the children. If the men return to eat in the hut, the women has to leave it beforehand.

[Warrior Kraal]

/to cont./

As long as the latter stays in the kraal, his girl is obliged to remain faithful to him, but if he leaves it, even for only one day, she is entitled to console herself with another kraal companion, provided that between her and him -- as is also a condition for her relationship with her ex ovalje -- there is no obstacle such as the above-mentioned obstacles to marriage based on lineage affiliation.

The herding of the livestock falls to the boys. Even at night they sleep outside in order to watch them and are assisted in the watch by the mothers, who take turns several times every night and frighten off wild animals by shouting.

Within the ring of huts there is a circular kraal of thorns for /ng/ the cattle and near that a narrower one for goats and sheep, while beside stands every hut there is a small kraal-ve for the young calves and a barricade of branches for the older calves of the individual ones. The everyone remains responsible for the barricading of his calves and, if at night they should find their way to the cows, has no scruples for carting a quarrel with others in the morning on account of the lack of milk. Milk is the only food that the Ol women relish in the kraal, and the lack of it is therefore especially grievous. Outside of it, only meat serves the warriors as food, and, to be sure, only that from cattle, sheep, and goats. They do not take vegetable food, honey beer, and tobacco. The meat needs are always held outside the kraal: a slaughtered head of small livestock is consumed a few hundred ostens from the kraal, behind a hut, whereas for the consumption of a head of cattle a more distant spot under a shade tree in the bush. /Fig. 10 appears here/ or fence is chosen. For these feast meals (ol ka), a half-dozen companies are formed in every warrior kraal, which are designated ovir ol kai and which consist of five or six members, each of whom is called ua ovir ol kai. Such banquets take place once or twice a month for each male company and last three or four days each time, during which no one is permitted. Besides the warriors, one to three girls also take part, and also a few boys in servants for fetching pots, water, and firewood, as well as for kitchen work. Prior to the slaughtering each male company splits up into two equal-sized parts, each of which is called ot ajhei and prepares its own camp. Under a shade tree with thick

[Warrior Kraal]

/50 cont./

Life in the kraal begins at sunrise, when the mothers and the girls start milking the livestock. Not until around seven o'clock, when the boys drive the livestock to pasture, do the warriors get up to take the first meal (*ne ukuf o dolopezie* = food in the morning), consisting of fresh milk. Then the women apply themselves to the

Ill. 50. Dance in the warrior kraal II.

cleaning of the cattle sheds and other work, as well as to even the cooking of their food, consisting of purchased vegetables. This is eaten around two o'clock in the afternoon (*ne ukuf o ben' ad*, that is, the second meal), while then the warriors or the even rare drink the rest of the morning milk, which has already become somewhat sour (*ofly ale selamla* = slightly sour milk). After that the old women take a nap or busy themselves with sewing and suking movements, while the warriors along with the girls /for/ cause themselves with dance and song (*ne ukuf'ba*) under a nearby shade tree. For this a row of warriors stands opposite a row of girls. The former dance in place by slightly lifting the toes and beating the

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

Palermo 3 continued/ in Egypt, on the so-called Palermo stone has shown (Sethe-Junker, Zeitschr. Aegypt. Sprache, 1906, 2).

Proceeding from the present year, one also designates, with the help of yesterday and tomorrow, etc., the next years in the past and future: ḥꜣ.wt in ḫpwtf ḥnwmwsn (ḥꜣ.wt = the year, ḫpwtf = yesterday, ḥnwmwsn = /ḥꜣ/ elapsed), last year: ḥꜣ.wt ḫꜣ.ty ḥnwmwsn, the year before last: ḥꜣ.wt ḫꜣ.ty ḥnwmwsn, the last year but two. Furthermore: ḥꜣ.wt nbwmw sbty (nbwmw, tomorrow, sbty = future), the next years: ḥꜣ.wt ḫꜣ.ty ḥnwmwsn, the year after next: ḥꜣ.wt ḫꜣ.ty ḥnwmwsn nbwmw sbty, more briefly, ḥꜣ.wt ḫꜣ.ty sbty, the third year coming, etc. One very seldom hears designations going beyond the last and next year.

The only measure peculiar to the blood spear (ḫpš dmꜥ.t), measured, with outspread fingers, from the tip of the thumb to that of the middle finger. I was only told that the people measured with this the length of the spear blade, spear shaft, and sword blade, and heard here, upon entering the pure record, they designated with so-and-so many hand spans the desired length to the smith.

XVIII.

Livestock. — Cattle. — Cows. — Calves. — Donkeys. — Goats. — Sheep. — Camels. — Names for cows. — Ownership marks. — Blood vows for beautification and alignment from the supervisor of cattlemen. — Caretaking the born stockmates. — Birth assistance. — Sicknesses and their treatment. — Cowbells. — Tending the livestock. — Drawing blood. — Slaughter. — Cutting up the animal and distributing the meat. — Remembrance of the livestock. — Pasture in the steppe. — Bushbreaking by the Bauyaso section. — Useful and harmful fodder plants.

The Ibaan's greatest joy is the ownership of as much livestock as possible; all his thoughts and acts are directed toward preserving and enlarging the herds. The cattle are calm (ḫꜣ.t ḥdwt), easy

233 (154) /Ikt com./ **The cattle are calm** (**See Lefiow**) **among** which one can distinguish a sturdy, short-haired breed and a thinner, long-haired one. One almost never comes across pure representatives of either, however, rather, as a result of plunder and crossbreeding, all the types occurring in East Africa are represented among them. The small Ideal cattle (1 gleiko at most) scarcely exceed in size the average East African cattle. The foreign, that is, Indian, cattle especially prized are on account of its considerably larger size, the greatest fresh (weight and vitality (1 gleiko at most), then from Ceylonese and Indians (1 gleiko at most), and further the large-horned 1 gleiko a kiom, named after the Kiom area of Kiom, east of the area of Ngare. Among all the others are relatively small and the yield of milk is consequently little. An exception to this is a low, sturdy breed with short horns, which produces a double quantity of milk and about which the Ideal natives say they are quite pure descendants of the old Walwall cattle (1 gleiko at most). The Ideal call themselves wakgi. Since the calves are not permanently separated from the cows, the women try to avoid the several controversies at the milking by bringing the calf close to the cow during the milking. They place themselves astride it and hold to head firmly with the knees. The cow lets the calf, believes that it is nursing, /ikt/ /ikk. It and it appear knee/ /ikt/ and is quiet. If the calf dies, one deceives the cow about its presence by hanging the freshly dried /Pig. 'r appear knee/ skin over a stick. The cows are milked twice a day, morning and evening, and each time give about one and a half liters of milk. They are never milked completely; rather one leaves the calves with them afterwards. Until the calf is two months old, it is given the milk from 232 two ibs. while the other two are milked. The principle of breeding and selection in general one well leaves to the Ideal (Fig. 'r). Male calves that are not to be used for breeding later on are castrated (142) at the age of 14 days (1 gleiko). With a sharpened /ki. It appear knee/ piece of down iron, with as it used for storing, a cut is made in the scrotum, then each testicle is grasped with the hand and pulled out, together with the spermatic cords. "So that the wound may heal more quickly," one state is a deal fly and the one of the severed testicles wound the left hocking of the calf squeezed on.

[ICE CONTINUED ON PAGE 217]

[Illustrations from p. 148 of the original source.]

• 233

[illegible]

[illegible]

/Illustrations from p. 120 of the original source./

Fig. 4.
Earth spade.

Fig. 5. [illegible]

[1901 comp.]

232 Bulls that develop unfavorably and were unsuitable for breeding are castrated by the scratching of the spermatic cords with the club between the wood and string of a bow (p.1889). The testicles are not removed, but are left to atrophy. In the same [1901] way one proceeds to castrate goats, sheep, and donkeys, but the latter always not until they are fully grown. Bulls and bucks with abnormal sexual [illegible] instincts are slaughtered as soon as the vice is noticed, since they are regarded as bringing bad luck. It is believed that, as a result of [illegible] their behavior, they bring the punishments of God upon the herd in [illegible] the form of an epidemic.

231 The donkeys are small, square-built, strong, and excellent, with nicely arched croppers, a rounded neck, fine and flinky shanks, they are very similar in shape to the mules. Their coloring is a uniform light gray with a black cross over the back and shoulders. [illegible] They serve only to carry burdens, whereas mules are only rarely used.

• 233

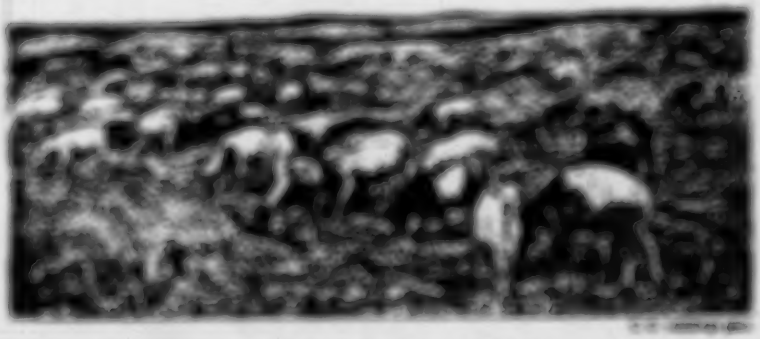
Ill. 74. Wheat grains and dump.

[illegible]

231 [illegible] two breeds are distinguished, a shorter and stockier one and a longer-
[illegible] legged, thinner one. The latter is allegedly found only among the
El Amegam Liangan.

• 232 Among the goats a small breed and a large one can be distin-
[illegible] guished. The latter have obtained the latter only through raiding
expeditions in Pare, Usambara, etc.; the two breed goats are
small. All have medium long, smooth hair, a markedly projecting
forehead, and lop ears. The horns are usually only an inch long and
have ripe turned back somewhat. Among twelve they are longer, but
also only rarely seven to eight inches. /100/ The sheep are only
medium-sized compared to European ones. They have curly, coarse
hair. Three breeds are distinguished, a large one (ol gor ndiny =
large sheep) with fat rump, a medium-sized one (ol gor ndiri =
small sheep), white with black head and medium-long fat tail, and
a small (ol gor kiboroto kibooro = poor, puny) breed and with a
[illegible] long fat tail. Among the young female animals of the last two breeds
the fat tail is cropped for fear it might be obstructive to the back
during coition.

The black-headed breed is stronger in North Africa and probably
represented here, just like the last of the three breeds, which might



31. 32. Masai goats and sheep.

[illegible]

• 233 [illegible] for a breeding product of agriculturalists. The long fat tail, which, with good pasture, is thick and heavy and therefore exciting is very difficult for the animal, can scarcely be the result of breeding by nomads. Moreover, among sedentary natives, such as the Wadelheggo of Ellimenderbaro, the inhabitants of the Pare Mountains, of Usambara /Mt. Meru/, the Iraki, etc., I found the animals of this breed in incomparably better condition. In this connection I am thinking of the medium-sized animals, one of the specimens bred in Ellimenderbaro for the convenience of the chiefs for hundreds of years, which even on only quite short exercise are commonly made to collapse in the sun by the weight of their fat rolls and which on discovery of perhaps an hour's march can scarcely be recaptured other than by being carried.

Generally one finds crosses of all these breeds in the mixed herds. All have lop ears, ram noses, coarse shaggy hair, and, except for the old herds, are almost entirely hornless.

/[illegible]/

[illegible]

• 233

Ill. 11. Masai sheep.

233 [illegible] *[illegible]* Where the Masai are neighbors of the Somali (in British East Africa), the camel has also found entry among them as a beast of burden. They do so, however, generally share the passion of their neighbors, for whose palate the meat of these animals is a special delicacy. The Masai do not keep chickens, ducks, pigeons, etc. The attachment of the Masai to their cattle, especially to the cows, makes them seem to them like companions and friends. Thus, their habit of giving their animals names, especially considering the extravagance that the people indulge in with proper names, does not seem at all surprising. The /Ili. 11/ appears here/ name [illegible] means that the cow has come from a distance. [illegible] was captured in the victory. Nandiju is a cow given as bride price. Olive is one such that was received as a gift from an uncle or aunt. A cow paid as fine is called [illegible]. Each of the five cows that the

/147 cont./

233
412
531

Ill. 56. Bull with ornamental brand.
(The G [= Government] on the hind leg is not part of it, but would have been branded on the animal when it came to the fiscal herd.)

233 552 captures of the first head of cattle on a war expedition receives as a reward is called Aberí. Other names for cows are Narok-gonjók, blackeye, Ee-dobiá, brown one, bige, cream-colored one, Erok-lagunja, blackhead, Na-njugi, red one. A male calf dropped by the cow Ólójaro is called Le-Ólójaro, while a female calf is simply given its mother's name.

233 233 412 412 /183/ Cattle, donkeys, and small livestock bear ownership marks. These consist of cuts or brand lines on one or both ears and of lines and curves burned on the left side of the body. The marks (Plates 3 and 4) ol mukeny, el mukenya, if put on the body; ol kumbe, el kumbe, if on the ears) on the cattle and donkeys

[p.13]

/166 cont./

231 show to what lineage or sublineage the owner belongs: those on the
233 small livestock the owner chooses for himself. Probably every lineage
422 has several distinct marks. A glance at history will explain this.
[613] In the immigration of the Masai people, accomplished little by little,
[17] each of the many bands originally formed a closed whole, which each lineage represented in it adopted a particular mark in order to make its property known. So it was natural that later on different ownership marks existed in connection with one and the same lineage, each according to the affiliation with this or that band. Besides this some that belong only to individual -- very wealthy and widely ramified -- families are also known, and then they are applied in place of the others, not together with them. The marks on the cattle are the same as those on the donkeys, although the latter bear the ear marks almost exclusively, only very rarely also those on the body. If a
[613] head of breeding cattle passes to an owner belonging to another lineage, it is usually given a new mark, and, to be sure, this one
233 then on the right side of the body. Besides the
531 ownership marks, cattle often have still other signs burned in as adornment, especially
[232] circles or a sentry-box type of design. A
[412] circle around the root of the tail and, on either side of it, one or two concentric rings on the hind legs are found especially
233 frequently among bulls. In addition to these
232 cut and brand scars, which are therefore supposed to serve in part for identification, in part for beautification purposes, there is also a third type, which arises from operations that are performed with a red-hot iron (Fig. 75) for the curing of swellings on joints and tendons. These lines, usually lattice-shaped, are also found among goats and sheep. On female calves the horn attachments are often cauterized, so that they can not butt later on. This operation further brings about, in the view of the Masai, an enlargement of the belly, desirable for leather production.

Fig. 75

/160 cont./

233 232 At births manual help is given. As soon as the cow lies down, she is held firmly by a few people; others grasp the legs of the calf coming forth and pull it out. Then it is struck against the belly of the cow a few times, so that "she will love it," and then struck on the forehead with the palm of the hand, so that "it will quickly go to the udder and suck."

233 232 Swellings on cattle, for healing, are smeared with the glowing ashes of an dziele ati gaw (Solanum spec.).

[237] Injuries to the feet of the cattle and goats are treated by a thorough washing with hot water and subsequent embrocation with cattle urine, as is a sort of foot rot (ay jelly), which /161/ frequently appears when the cattle stand for a long time in mud and dirt during the rainy season. One tries to cure ailments of donkey hoofs by placing the hoof on a stone heated very hot and holding it there for a few moments.

[234] In describing the internal ailments of livestock I am relying chiefly on the statements of the Wasai. Since only exceptionally did I have an opportunity to make observations on cases, causes, etc.

[237] For coughs (ajg ñmgan) the cattle are given a thin soup consisting of milk and pulverized, charred bear-skin. Of shitting back cures diarrhea in cattle. The infusion of a decoction of ai cinnamomi bark (Isobaeia aegyptica) for cattle acts beneficially on the childbirth and curatively on the birth organs. To hasten the afterbirth after a miscarriage, one gives the cow an infusion of a root decoction from the ai jagi i ai aiñti (a Euphorbia).

For eye inflammation one spits milk into the eye of the cow and rubs it in it, or one drips into the eye the juice of the ai ainegarai kinok (Heliotropium Steudneri Vatke).

An epidemic disease among young calves, which is supposed to lead rapidly to death, is called ai dibana or ai dibña by the Wasai.

[234] As the cause of the ailment they cite the eating of a certain bush en jarō (Pennisetum ciliare) and as symptom swelling of the lymph glands, which they often try to heal by cauterization (1).

1. In all the meat and fatty parts of the stricken

/190 cont./

• 251
252
253.

/Mamuse I continued/ animals there are said to be found heavy hemorrhaging and in the animals a greenish, watery fluid.

Another frequent ailment of calves is called ebg ammyant and consists of a rash, predominantly on the head. The individual spots are grey and dry and are the size of a mark or a tailor pieces. The Mimi know nothing about their cause. From time to time one gives the sick animal an infusion of fresh leaf blood. The ailment is usually cured within a few months and is supposed to disappear at the latest after complete weaning.

For fever one gives the cattle an infusion of an extract from the pounded bulb of an galawiku (Cyperus galvus Rem.) and sprinkles wood ashes on their bodies. Calves are given an extract of the pounded bulb of ai gilaw (Scilla spec.) to drink.

Oi ayamgaw is a cattle ailment that usually leads to death overnight and, in the opinion of the people, arises through swallowing dust in the dry season. This ailment is recognized by the fact that the animals tremble all over their bodies. Drinking is supposed to hasten death, whereas the refusal of water shows that the animal will recover.

They know of no remedy against rinderpest. If the epidemic appears in the vicinity, they flee as far away as possible, and then, as soon as /170/ suspicious signs of sickness are observed in their own herd, the wild flight is resumed with the healthy animals, while the infected animals, which soon lose flesh, remain behind and die by the wayside. They call rinderpest ai ndaw (1)

1. Pronounced 'ndaw or also 'ntaw.

- the gall, in whose morbid change they see the chief symptoms of the sickness.

On the other hand, they are familiar with a protective inoculation against tuberculosis (ai gilaiT) (1)

1. Also ai ktiiT.

Fifth week.

and the seed is successfully on a large scale on the end of the eighteen. One or several cuts are made with a knife in the underside of the bridge of the nose of the animal to be inoculated, so that blood flows copiously from the wound. At the same time the chest cavity of an animal

Fig. 58.
Cow inoculated on the bridge of the nose against tuberculosis.

that has just died is opened and from it is taken a fist-sized piece of the lung, greatly swollen and filled with a watery fluid. One rubs the wound thoroughly with this piece, so that the fluid penetrates well. Soon after the operation the nose swells considerably and mucus flows copiously from the nostrils. The sickness comes out of the nose, the people say. The healing of the external wound is sometimes connected with a considerable elevation, which not so rarely leads to a purulent inflammation of one eye, indeed to the complete loss of it. The ulcer heals with the formation of a thick,

[illegible]

[illegible] (17c case.)
Every eye often five centimeters high, (17c) through which the
• [illegible] associated animals, which are now supposed to be protected against
becoming sick with tuberculosis, are permanently marked. Numerous
observations in this direction demand on the performance of this view.
[illegible] The [illegible] tuberculosis is reported on the invasion of the tuberculosis
nodules.

[illegible] In some years, and, to be sure, in the rainy seasons, great
[illegible] multitudes of dark green caterpillars are to see and a half inches
long are found in the grasses of the steppe. Cattle that eat the
caterpillars are stricken with [illegible] - the caterpillars.
As symptoms of the sickness I observed: like a few hoarse coughing
sounds, then giddiness, which rapidly assumes and makes the animal
reggae as though out of drunkenness; soon it lies down and is brought
to a standing position only with difficulty, only to lie down again
after a few minutes, whereupon death never often after only half
[illegible] an hour. The treatment consists of bloodletting by an arrow shot
(Fig. 7) into the jugular vein, whereby one to one and a half
liters of blood is emptied out. Through that recovery is reached
after just a few hours, as I observed in over [illegible] cases (1).

1. The macroscopic examination of blood sticks
(ear, heart, spleen) of sick and dead animals
gave a negative finding (Stewart /Asst physician/
Dr. Carlsons). I observed the appearance of
cases of the caterpillars in March, 1900, in the
steppe south of Ellisonsdorf, in December,
1905, in the steppe southwest of Ellisonsdorf,
in the entire region between the Lotos and Lake
Nanyuma, and in April, 1907, in December
/Dec or Saisan/.

[illegible] In another case, out of four head of cattle, after two had already
died of the disease, the other two, through the infusion of an
enemic consisting of a mixture of sugar-cane beer and a tobacco
extract, which was given upon the advice of the Wapare in
Bananta on the southern end of Lake Jipe, could
be cured.

[illegible]

[illegible] Mammary on the southern end of Lake Nya, could be cured. Grazing cattle do not also eat the caterpillars, but flee them every time, so the ranch, one should drive them slowly through a region infested with these caterpillars, so the blowing away is possible for them.

The latest indigens we are investigating a cattle sickness that most probably is pulmonary anthrax, caused by the infestation of the containing anthrax spores. As a remedy they give the cattle a tea extract of [illegible] mixed with a little milk.

Retention in cattle is caused by a vigorous blowing of air into the anus. One applies for this a wooden tube (of [illegible]), which otherwise is used to store the switch feathers of the warriors' head ornaments. It is regarded as a symptom of retention when the sick animal, without showing any desire to eat, often lies down and rolls about.

With the [illegible] sickness of the cattle the sick animal is said to exist often a strong caution-odor; the lymph glands are swollen, the belly is distended. As the cause of the sickness popular belief causes a large snake that has contaminated the pasture grass. A cure is not known; experiments, however, have shown us that in the first stages of the sickness a laxative (a bottle of salad oil or some native beer would be given as such) brings speedy recovery.

/173/ The [illegible] sickness, also called [illegible], is recognized by the fact that balls of gnu hair are found in the stomachs of the stricken animals. The only symptom of the sickness, which, however, it has in common with many others, is the refusal of fodder. The people believe concerning the cause of the sickness that the beast ate the grass, contaminated with warlike blood and hair, from a spot where a gnu dropped young.

For the [illegible] sickness of the cattle the Masai give the sick animal the strongly laxative extract from the pounded leaves and fruits of [illegible] (Combretum spec.) to drink. As the cause of the sickness they assume that the animal ate the grass on which a buffalo cow dropped her calf. According to their statements, worms flows from the nose of the sick animal, it trembles over its whole body, and the dung has a poisonous coloring.

Poisons

233 The foliage of the ol jeri ! ol engos tree (*Cordia farinosa*), due to one of the donkeys, is regarded as poison for donkeys. Besides a laxative, ol gindeli ! ol engos, from where the donkeys (before in the pens) are stricken beyond recovery, the blood also fear for donkeys and cattle the sense fly (*Glossina morsitans*), which they call as *lendilo*. The latex is allegedly only dangerous to cattle if it trickles down to the rip of the tongue. One seals a cow by cauterizing the eye lobes, but the result is very doubtful.

For getting rid of flies, one rubbs young livestock with an extract from the crushed plants of ol *sirrila* gorok (*Asparagus asparagoides* L.) or from ol olari (*Ocimum* spec.).

The powdered ash of ol girgir (*Acacia gerrardii* Willd.) is blown into the eyes of calves and small livestock, in order to drive out the maggots of the disease fly /=*sirkia* fly/.

233 234 Cowbells (Fig. 77) in the form customary in Europe are found generally, but here they are being especially so seen and only on those cows that do not tolerate their calves. Another bells, often

of wood or sheep horn with wooden clappers, are worn by castrated sheep and goats. An adornment one hangs around the neck of castrated calves clapper-shaped pieces of ivory (Fig. 78) on, for especially handsomely developed cattle, a leather band or a cord stitched with cowrie shells.

233

Farm cows.

Small livestock and donkeys are herded by little boys, cattle by older boys, under the supervision of a few old men. Dogs are no longer used for this work—rather the livestock herds the children or roll of the landscape. To what extent this is the case is best demonstrated when these few with herds of livestock. A number of men, shouting and chatting, run before and behind the herd, which rages across the steppe in a mad chase. In former times the herdsmen were generally used dogs. The dogs did not serve as much to keep the herd together, but more to guarding. They announce the approach of predatory animals by barking or by beginning to the herdsmen.

Milking As has already been mentioned above, fresh livestock blood alone or mixed with milk forms a food prized as quite particularly nourishing. The blood for this is drawn off the living cattle and goats in the following manner. A strap is tied around the animal's neck in such a way that the blood returning to the heart in the large vein is blocked by a cut branching of her afferent. Then a man draws an arrow (Fig. 70) with a bulb-shaped, thick tip (of bone), from which projects a wide-shaped sharp piece of bone (as in 6 eight millimeters long and equally wide, into the swollen vein, whereupon the blood spurts out in a stream and is caught in a good bowls (of bone). The bleeding is stopped by a simple varying of the strap after the operation is finished. From a young bull or an approximately five to five liters of blood are drawn at one time, from a cow only half as much, and this is repeated every month. No blood is drawn from good milch cows and cows with young calves. Blood is drawn from sharp by means of an incision in the depression above the eye or between the eye and the middle of the forehead. The slaughtering of cattle is done by a stab in the neck after the feet and hind legs have been tightly bound and sharp are suffocated by having their mouths and noses held shut. Cows are never slaughtered, not even when they are too old to be used for breeding. Livestock that has died is eaten. As soon as the animal is dead, one removes the skin from the neck, severs the neck veins, and catches the blood flowing out in the skin. The cutting up of a head of cattle is done with the greatest care; almost every single muscle is carved

/139 cont./

[illegible] (or adult), full-grown female head of small livestock
[illegible], young male head of small livestock
[illegible], young female head of small livestock
[illegible], head of small livestock only a few days old
[illegible], goat buck
[illegible], castrated goat buck
[illegible], she-goat
[illegible], she-goat that has dropped young several times
[illegible], she-goat that has not yet dropped young
[illegible], male kid
[illegible], female kid
[illegible], ram
[illegible], castrated male
[illegible], sheep
[illegible], sheep that has dropped young several times
[illegible], sheep that has not yet dropped young
[illegible], male lamb
[illegible], female lamb.

The [illegible] part of the steppe offers excellent pasture; only
[illegible] or larger isolated exercise are quite available for this. The
[illegible] have been precisely and scrupulously avoid them. What exists
[illegible] these scientific is free of all the occurrence of grasses that bring about
digestive disorders and the lack of salt in sufficient quantities, through
which a similar effect is brought about. In good pasturing places one
always finds salt licks. The rain water standing in a depression in the
ground has leached out the very saltiness earth out, after evaporation,
has left behind a more or less strong, gray crust of salt. It is self-
evident that one avoids those places about which the presence of the
above-mentioned harmful causes is known. It is striking, however,
that salt licks are not found at all.

When the pasture around the kraal has been grazed off, a change
of dwelling is decided upon, which takes place as soon as a new
pasture ground has been found by a few people sent out. Then there
is activity in the kraal long before daybreak. After the cows have
been milked, the cattle moves off as the first party. Then the herds
of goats and sheep follow, and after these [illegible] the calves. Young

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]

[illegible] participants eats a small piece of the meat, after he has roasted it in the ashes. Furthermore he is given a strip of the skin, from which he then fashions wooden rings, one for himself, the others for his relatives. The ring protects the wearer from sicknesses of every kind. Men wear it on the right middle finger, women wear it on the large spiral-shaped cord ornament of iron wire. During the feast the participants constantly sing:

[illegible] Hai nandi, aha, hai kindava (je, eh)
hai nandi, aha, hai ndogo (yak eh)

(Hai ndogo (yak = may God heal an ailing = owner the cattle, ndogo (yak = give us to drink, give rain.)

On the following day the women carry fresh cattle dung to the ashes and knead a cook from it, into which is mixed a medicine that an ol gaiishi has prepared and brought along. With these preparations the second part of the supplication feast has begun, which is called ol ngai i eh gishu, i.e., supplication feast for the cattle. Amidst the same songs as above the women spread the medicine on the livestock in the form of lines and curves, and, to be sure, on the spines of the cows and female sheep, on the right side of the belly of the male animals and those females whose lambs are not yet dropped young. With this the feast is over. The goats are not smeared, but are driven to pasture even before this ceremony. As the reason for this the Masai say that 'ng ai does not like goats because they do not modestly carry their little tails hanging down as a fig leaf.

Another supplication feast is celebrated only by the married women in order to implore God to give them children. It is called ingai 'ng ai ol ada, i.e., may God hear the word. In or near the kraal the women gather in the forenoon, together with a sorcerer (ol gaiishi), around whom they station themselves in a circle. Every woman is then given an amulet by him, which she hangs on the top cord of the skin apron. Then he sprinkles their heads and shoulders with a medicine, which, besides milk and honey beer, also contains one of his secret ingredients, for which he is rewarded with a few sheep. Then the women dance and sing throughout the day under a shade tree, during the night in the kraal, until dawn.

/540 cont./

economy. Rather, I should call their behavior economic-moral and mention in this connection that the Ideal, extraordinarily rare since preserving his youth, handsomeness, and physical strength, imposes upon himself also moderation in moral enjoyment.

An outstanding people-preserving factor is a wise organization. It can make a small people superior to a larger, less well organized one, and here has given the Ideal a position of power over the Negroes. A well organized people of the steppe nations on earth grows to little harm to outer consumption. Rather, such people are always characterized by a warlike and predatory nature. The nation itself has been basically above all, since it /547/ demands great sacrifices of men. It has often happened that only half of those who set out returned; indeed, they set off expeditions in which all the warriors were killed. At the beginning of the disaster — to cite one example, several thousand Ideal warriors set out against Ceyaxtenek. They had assembled a few hours to the west of Ideldeng /Id. Ideal/ and had as a guide an Ceyaxtenek man by the name of Degbeja, who had lived for a long time among them. During the night before the planned attack, Degbeja betrayed it to his countrymen. The Ideal were repulsed with heavy losses and turned back. Far more than half of them died of hunger and thirst along the way on the twelve- to fourteen-day march. Such wars killing expeditions of war are by no means seldom rather they were constantly in the history of the Ideal. Certainly the great surplus of women is to be ascribed to them.

With regard to the here that Ceyaxtenek epidemics (1)

1. The reason that the epidemics were so destructive around 1800 is, for of all, that two epidemics occurred in quick succession: a pulmonary epidemic and Cindaryeek, and, on the other hand, the renewal of the herds by war expeditions was in part made difficult, in part rendered impossible, by the military victims.

[illegible]

/Def. cont./

[illegible] caused the Ideal people to the period before the occupation of the country by Europeans. I have no reliable observations made by myself or by Europeans. Each can scarcely exist, for at that time the Ideal knew a feared power that every one-man Ideal to avoid. I am therefore relying on the statements of old men. According to their recollection, the epidemics were never capable of producing actual famine. As soon as the beginning of an epidemic was observed, the Ideal fled to wild flight with the herds, leaving the sick animals lying along the way. Half the herd at most is supposed to have succumbed. If one considers the size of the herds at that time, one understands that the surviving part could always still furnish sufficient milk and meat. Furthermore, the war expeditions were brought subsistence for the fallen animals and thus acted to preserve prosperity (5).

> 5. It is to be observed here that empirically Creation's epidemics caused less losses for the adversary Negro practicing animal husbandry along with agriculture. This is probably chiefly due to the fact that he cattle only very few head his own and keeps them in his hut, which is far from the case one. Through that the Ideal were able to replenish their depleted herds quickly and easily.

Finally, the Ideal's profound contempt for the surrounding Negro tribes was also favorable for the preservation of the people. It kept the people free of foreign elements, which here would only have resulted in a degeneration of the race.

The fable that primitive peoples would have continued to develop peacefully and favorably if Europeans, with their corruption, had not disturbingly interfered has long been recognized as such. On the other hand, however, I perceive an /[illegible]/ undeniable fact that these peoples decline upon contact with the higher cultures, and that many even disappear as a people. The reason for this phenomenon lies in the fact that these peoples have already been living on an unhealthy basis and have owed their preservation to means that we designate as

[Left side of Plate 6a]

Property marks on the hollow of the cattle, some rarely of the donkeys

[Nos. 11 and 12 are illustrated on p. 130]

/Right side of Plate No/

Plate No

/Property marks on vehicles see p. 999 for 11 and 12./

/Left side of Plate IV/

Pregnancy marks on the bodies of the cattle, more rarely of the donkeys

[illegible]

/Nos. 31 and 32 are illustrated on p. 113/

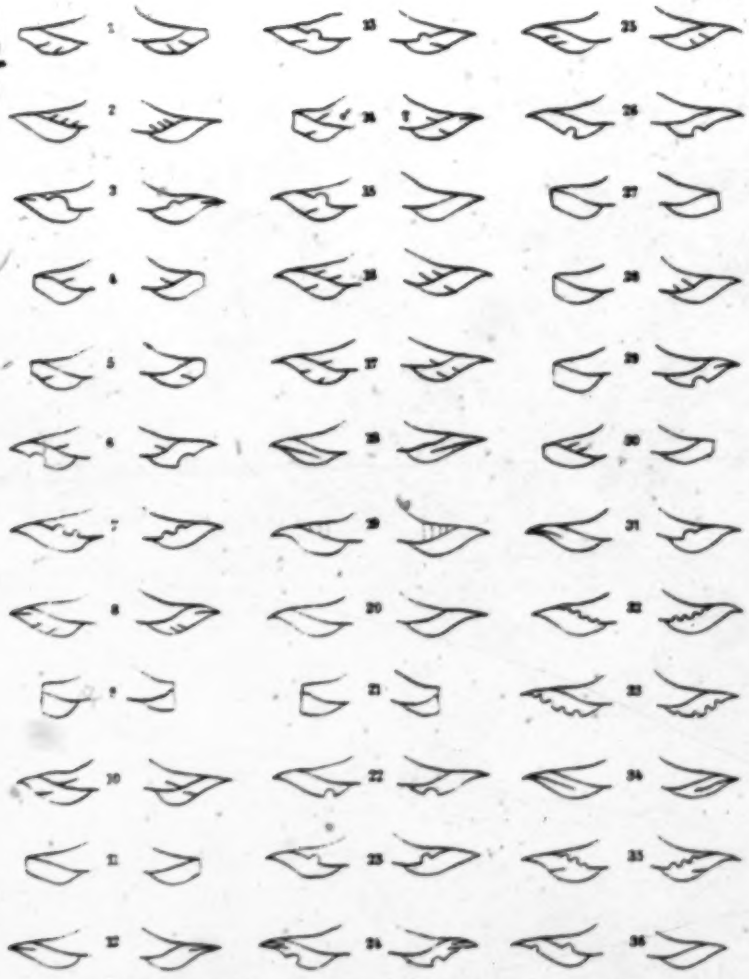
[Frequency tracks on certain axes p. 611 for 14 and 15.]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Plate 4

• 233
422
613



Property marks on the ears of cattle and donkeys.

Signs of individual families

Sign 12 is also frequently found on twin animals

/For No. 20, ohne Schnitte = without cuts./

233

[For additional information on pastoral activities, see also category 231.]

19: Talbot FL12 Masai FL12

233

[For information on pastoral activities, passim, see category 116, pp. 24-162, 251, 252, 310-315, and 349-411.]

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

CHAPTER 10

Masai Herds and Mara Lions

1

THE Masai have won respect by their contempt for civilization and all that it has offered them. For half a century Europeans have been tempting them with all the material bribes, indeed even non-material ones, for which every Bantu and Nilotic people is avid. There is scarcely an African of the fat lands who would not sell his soul for a school certificate. The Masai have rejected school certificates with a proud and lofty disdain.

Will a certificate fatten a bullock or swell the belly of a cow? Masai hearts are with their cattle; they desire no finer destiny for a son than to walk in the dust of a larger herd than his father's. The young man who dreams of glory sees fine white bulls and brindled cows and green grass knee-high, he does not see the stone bungalow, the shining motor-car, the well-cut suit, the framed diploma so alluring to his darker fellow-countrymen. He likes to wear his hair in matted pigtails smeared with red ochre and rancid butter, to stand with one foot against the other knee, to eat a compound of bullock's blood and curdled milk, to carry his long spear and to keep his women in their beads and coils and fly-infested mud burrow as his ancestors did—those ancestors whose lion head-dresses and painted shields filled the hearts of lesser breeds with terror, and won the right of conquest over the steppes of eastern Africa from their northern Somali deserts to their southern tsetse bush.

For the Masai have pride, and pride is a quality we recoil from in ourselves and half-admire, half-deplore in others. An Englishman today must stamp with the hob-nail boots of equality upon the little shoots of pride that cannot help but spring up in his heart; but when he sees the fine, free growth of it in others, an envious respect attacks him. For

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

233 numbering about 85,000; keep about one The Masai,
179 million head of scrub cattle, and 660,000 sheep and goats.
556 They *could* export fat steers and lambs, but have done next to
[161] nothing to improve the quality of their animals. This is because they do not need the cash. There are old men living in mud hovels with little but ear-rings, a spear and a blanket who could at any minute realize several thousand pounds for their cattle. Scarcely one of them could not afford a motor-car if he wanted one, probably a Jaguar at that. The plain fact is they do not want motor-cars, or beds, or kitchen sinks, or radios, or refrigerators, or washing machines: they just want cattle, which they have, and which the processes of nature will increase for them without their having to do any disagreeable work.

It is an *impasse*. The whole machinery of modern society, modern trade, modern development, has been halted by the Masai's refusal to keep up with the Jones's, or the Kamaus in this case. It is like a great Britannia aircraft grounded by a midge in the works. Modern civilization runs on avarice as cars on petrol, and if there is no pump where you can fill up with avarice, you simply stay where you are.

But even the Masai are not really free of avarice: it merely takes a different form. If they do not want bicycles and trousers, they do want more cattle, and this has led them into a great error. Instead of rejecting everything the West offered them, they accepted the hypodermic syringe of the vets. First of all the vets put an end to rinderpest, and then, rather less successfully, dealt with various other diseases that were keeping their herds in check.

233 No doubt it would have needed superhuman self-denial on
179 the part of the Masai to have rejected this magical means of
185 ending the periodic epidemics that had wiped out all but a rump of their cherished herds. Yet these were the means by which nature had kept herds and habitat in balance. Vegetation, controlled by constant factors like rainfall and soil structure, cannot multiply as creatures of the animal kingdom can, and do. The fact remains that to accept the vet's syringe was fatal to the Masai, and to offer it to them, as the Government did, without also insisting upon some means of keeping down the livestock population, was an act of remarkable

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

imbecility—or perhaps not remarkable, since nothing has been more characteristic of the half-century of European intervention in Africa than the slap-happy introduction of bright, well-meaning ideas by enthusiasts of all kinds, without any regard for their long-term consequences.

Anyway, vets controlled diseases, livestock multiplied and their hoofs and mouths destroyed the precarious grass cover of the plains. The result is that, except where the tsetse fly remains in control, the Masai are living in country poised upon the edge of deserthood. Some of it has gone over the edge, some hovers on the borderline, some has not reached it yet. And so pressure mounts upon those regions that are still protected by the tsetse fly.

Overcrowded people outside want to get in, overstocked Masai themselves want to take their herds where grazing is still rich and deep. If either succeed, unless they adopt very different methods, they will destroy those regions as surely as they have damaged their present inheritance. Agricolas and vets do not want to see these last remaining areas opened up without strict control. But governments are terrified of controlling anyone by what may be represented as harsh measures, and administrators have inclined to caution since the Masai speared to death a D.C. who was persuading them to sell some steers. So the matter, like many others, rests in a state of suspended flux, and everyone hopes for good rains.

III

Down on the Kenya–Tanganyika border, not so very long ago, there lived an Englishman who kept in touch with the world by carrier-pigeon. For three or four months of the year no vehicle could reach him, and even in the dry weather it was a long, hard, bumpy seventy-mile journey from Narok, where the road ends. The aeroplane has changed all that. An hour's pleasant flight from Nairobi brought us comfortably to rest beside a tributary of the Mara river.

First we flew over the Mau, that range of mountains forming the south-western wall of the Rift Valley. Covered with forests of cedars and olives and, higher up, of bamboos, the

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

133 Mau is the source of all the rivers watering the western half
[137] of Masailand, Kipsigis and part of the Rift Valley. The birth-
place of innumerable streams, it is, in theory, protected by its
status as a forest reserve.

185 Looking out from the small yellow aircraft expertly handled
311 by June Wright, one of the best commercial pilots in East
Africa, one could quickly see how different theory was from
practice, here as elsewhere. In a forest reserve no one is
allowed to fell trees, cultivate, start fires or graze livestock.
In less than half an hour, I counted seventeen active fires and
saw the shambles created by innumerable others. Whole
ridgebacks of the mountain, sticking up like black spines, were
as bare as slag-heaps and already runnelled and creased by
gully erosion. Older fires were still smoking in some of these
devastated areas; one could see the forest being eaten into
like a great fur pelt attacked by moths.

As sure as fate, one day there will be no more water for
cattle in the streams below. 'God is punishing us,' will say the
Masai: but it will not be God, it will be themselves. The
[233] streams are already shrinking and the Masai are driving their
herds farther into the hills to find grazing. They cannot take
cattle into forest and so they burn a way in. They are creeping
upwards, spreading destruction as they go in order to escape
the consequences of destruction they have already caused.

[222] Other fires are started by honey-hunters who burn down
trees to smoke out the bees. Often, in the forest, you can see
blackened hollow cedars and olives killed by fires tucked into
the roots. If the foliage is dry and the wind right, the fire
will spread and get out of hand.

And then there are 'acceptees': a clumsy term given to men
of other tribes who are settling in Masailand, family by
family, with the permission of Masai elders. They are tenants:
but it is very unlikely that they will ever go.

[167] In South Nyanza and in Kipsigis it is reckoned that upwards
of two thousand families a year are crossing the southern
border into Masailand and Tanganyika. In recent years a
[582] good many Masai have married Kikuyu or Kamba wives
[842] because so many of their own women are sterile; at one time
there was quite a trade in Kikuyu girl-children, exchanged for
Cattle.

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Kenya FL1
Masai FL12

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marked with luminous paint to trace their movements; all over East Africa, people bicycled about the bush with sacks on their backs to attract them and grew to pensionable age catching them in nets, digging their pupae out of the sand, keeping them in test-tubes and cages, even studying micro-organisms which appeared to be their enemies.

Seldom has so much careful, detailed, expert study been given to one kind of insect. Some of the many facts discovered have been used ingeniously. Tsetse flies, for instance, probably mate only once in their lives. A current experiment is to expose a number of pupae to controlled doses of radiation which sterilizes them, and then to release the males so that gradually the fly population will die out.

The expense of bush-clearing is its principal handicap, and the quick regeneration of the bush. By itself, it could never have conquered tsetse fly in Africa. In recent years, chemists have discovered how to synthesize drugs which kill the trypanosomes in the blood, and which will prevent infection. The main drug in use at present, Antrycide pro-salt, will protect cattle for about four months.

No one doubts that, in time, the chemists will improve on this, and cattle-owners like the Masai will be able to take their herds anywhere they please. The battle is not yet wholly won; trypanosomes have already shown a tendency to develop resistance to the drugs, and there will no doubt be disappointments and setbacks. But, by and large, it can only be a matter of time before areas like the Mara are opened to hungry herds from overstocked pastures elsewhere.

Several experiments are under way to discover how things could be managed so as to avoid disaster to the land, and at the same time make a profit for its custodians. One such is the Ol Choro Orowa ranch which the vets are running on behalf of the District Council at Narok. On some 21,000 acres young beasts were to be fattened and sold at a profit, but profits have been shy because of various setbacks, such as an outbreak of pleuro-pneumonia and an army worm invasion. Now it seems that the acreage is too small and the Masai have so far refused to enlarge it. So the vets have not yet succeeded in bringing home to the Masai cattle-owner the basic fact that

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21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Kenya FL1
Masai FL2

good management on modern ranching lines will bring him in hard cash.

I saw the ranch mainly from the air. Lines of bush, cleared by bulldozers dragging giant chains between them, lie neatly along the contour like windrows in a hayfield. Soon the six or seven thousand acres that have been cleared will be fenced, and so managed that star-grass will cover them and steers fatten twice as quickly as they normally do. The snag, of course, is the Masai indifference towards cash.

Yet even here the seeds of change begin to germinate. There are schools now in all Masai centres, Masai students at Makerere, the start of a trickle of Masai teachers, doctors, administrators, vets. One has a Cambridge degree in geography, one is a Legislative Councillor. The shell of Masai indifference has been pricked.

The puncture so far is tiny, but time will enlarge it and one day, not so far away either, the whole shell may crack. Already a Masai parson, the Rev. Daudi Mokinyo, has fenced off 2,000 acres of communal grazing where he fattens steers bred from improved bulls, has a simple milking bail and makes ghee. Elsewhere, half a dozen other Masai have fenced in grazing land. When the railway took a pipeline off Mt. Kilimanjaro, they set up watering points for Masai cattle along its course, and in return one section of the tribe, the Il Kisongo, agreed to operate a pasture-management plan, financed by a grazing fee, which is acting as an entry-point for new ideas.

When these movements spread, as they seem bound to do, the doom of the game will be accomplished. For game cannot co-exist with modern pasture management. Unless the Masai come to see game as an asset of high value, it will go here, as it has on European farms, and for the same reasons: it will go down before the fence, the improved pasture and the need to keep the land free of disease.

VI

To admire pictures in the National Gallery, cathedrals of the Middle Ages or the antiquities of Greece is considered

[pp. 162-230 not processed]